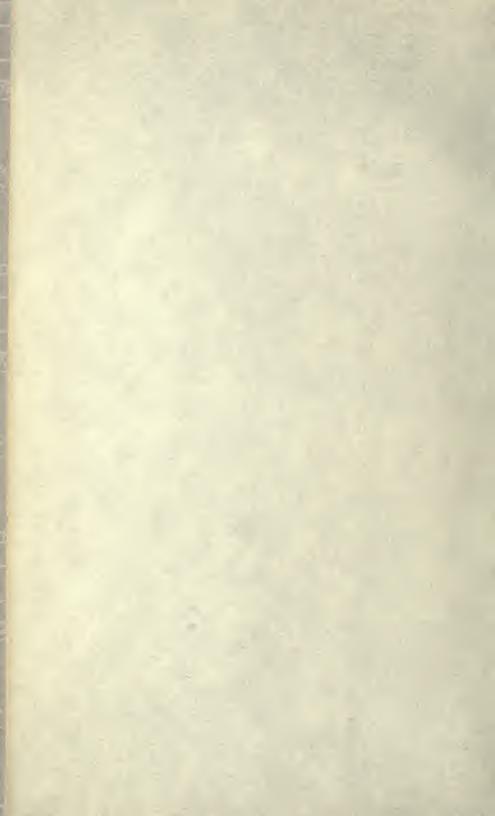
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# THE BRITISH ACADEMY SUPPLEMENTAL PAPERS

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# The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century

With a Revised Text of

The Kletorologion of Philotheos

By

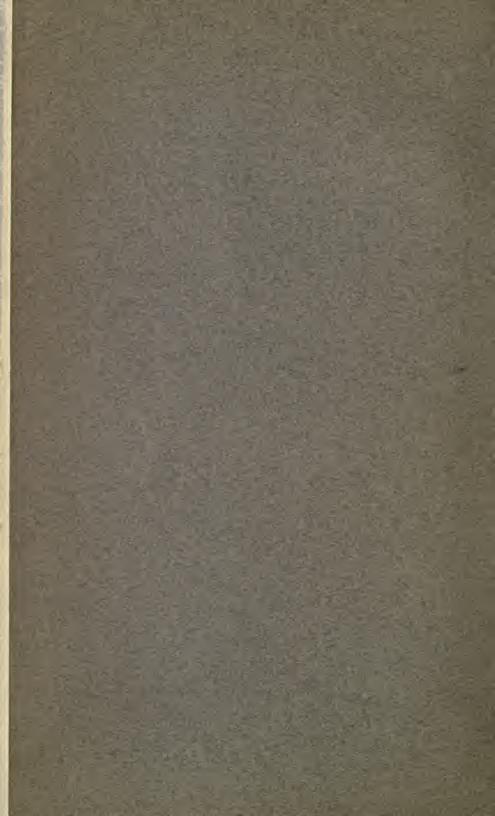
J. B. Bury

Fellow of the Academy

London

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I

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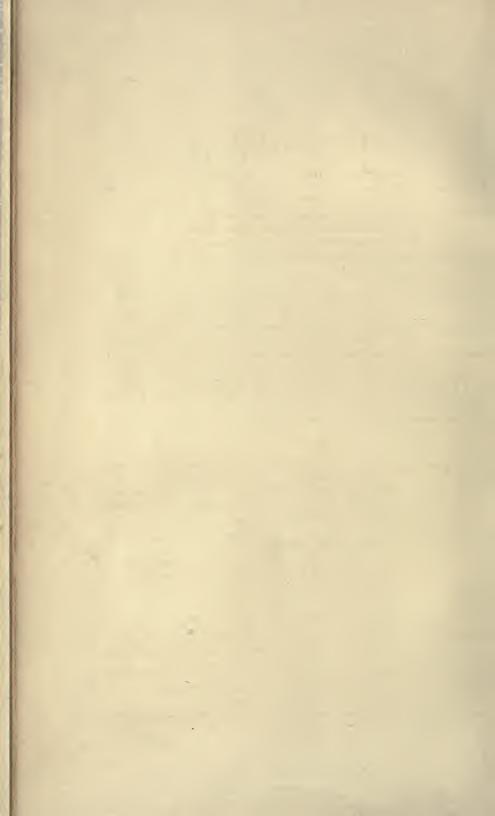
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The collections of Egyptian Papyri (Pap. Brit. Mus., B. G. U., Oxyrhynchus, &c.) are occasionally useful for illustration.

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## THE IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM IN THE NINTH CENTURY

#### A. PRELIMINARY.

#### (1) Sources for institutional history.

For the history of the administrative institutions of the Roman Empire in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D., we have material which is relatively ample. We have the lawbooks of Theodosius and Justinian, and the Notitia Dignitatum, of which the latest portions date from about A.D. 425. We have further the letters of Cassiodorus, written in his official capacity as quaestor in the palace of Ravenna, and, although he is concerned with the Imperial institutions as they were modified to suit the conditions of the Ostrogothic kingdom, the offices and functions were so little altered that the information supplied by Cassiodorus is, as Mommsen perceived, of the highest value not only for the administration of Ravenna but also of Constantinople. In addition to these authoritative documents, we have the mutilated treatise  $\pi \epsilon \rho i \ \dot{a} \rho \chi \hat{\omega} \nu$  of John the Lydian, which, rambling though it is, furnishes precious material, the author having been himself an official in the reigns of Anastasius, Justin I, and Justinian. These sources—supplemented by inscriptions and the incidental notices to be found in literature—render it possible to obtain a sufficiently clear and fairly complete general view of the civil and military administration as it was organized by Diocletian and Constantine, and as it was modified in details down to the reign of Justinian. But after the death of Justinian we enter upon a period of about three hundred years which is absolutely destitute of documents bearing directly upon the administrative service We have no source in the form of a code; for the only lawbook that survives, the Ecloga of Leo III, does not deal with public law, and casts no light on the civil and military administration. We have nothing in the form of a Notitia of offices, no official correspondence like that of Cassiodorus, no treatise like that of John the Lydian. Moreover, in the seventh and eighth centuries there is very little literature, and

inscriptions on stone are few and far between.1 Our only compensation is a very small one; we now begin to get inscribed lead seals of officials, which become numerous in the eighth and ninth centuries. At last about the middle of the ninth century, a new series of sources relating to the official service of the Empire begins. The first of these is a notitia or τακτικόν, as it was called, of the chief dignitaries and officials in order of rank, dating from the early years of the reign of Michael III. It is a bare list, but about half a century later comes the Klêtorologion of Philotheos, which is by far the most important source for the organization of the Imperial civil service in the early Middle Ages. And then about half a century later still we have the Ceremonial book compiled by Constantine VII. This collection contains a great many older documents, some dating from the ninth century, and two or three even from the eighth. We have also other writings of Constantine VII, especially the  $\pi \epsilon \rho i \tau \hat{\omega} v$ βασιλικών ταξειδίων and some chapters of the De administrando imperio.

Now these documents of the ninth and tenth centuries show us an administrative system quite different from that which prevailed in the days of Justinian.) It is probably due, at least in part, to the nature of the documents that this later system has never been thoroughly examined. For the documents, though of official origin, are not directly concerned with administration; they are concerned with ceremonial and court precedence, and while they reveal a picture of the world of officialdom, they tell little of the serious duties of the officials.) They have not therefore invited systematic investigation, like the Codex Theodosianus or the Notitia Dignitatum. department indeed of the administration has, during the last twenty years, received particular attention, namely, the general administration of the provinces, the system of Themes. We have now a valuable study of the subject by the late Professor H. Gelzer, who has also partially examined the military organization. It must be added that the judicial machinery has been partly explored by Zachariä von Lingenthal. But the general civil administration and the great ministerial bureaux at Constantinople have not been studied at all. This neglect has been a serious drawback for students of the history

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the administration of Egypt the papyri supply considerable material, even for the period from Justinian to the Saracen conquest. Particular attention may be called to the documents dating from the early Saracen period in Papyri in the British Museum, ed. Kenyon, vol. iv (accessible to me, before publication, through the editor's kindness). But the Egyptian material helps little for the general administrative changes with which we are here concerned.

of the Eastern Roman Empire. We can observe its effects in most of the works that are published on the subject. We can see that the writers do not attach clear and definite ideas to the official titles which are mentioned in their pages; they often confound distinct offices, and they confound offices with orders of rank. Schlumberger's magnificent work on Byzantine Seals may be cited in illustration; it is marred by many confusions between different officials and different departments.

It is therefore a task of urgent importance to reconstruct, so far as we can, the official organization of the later Empire at the earliest period for which we have sufficient evidence. It is true that at no period of Byzantine history have we documents that can be remotely compared with the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian or with the Notitia Dignitatum; but we must make the best of what we have.

Now the most important document we possess, the only one that gives us anything like a full notitia of the bureaux and officials, is the Klêtorologion of Philotheos, which was compiled in the reign of Leo VI, in the year A.D. 899. It is therefore the proper starting-point for an investigation of the subject. We may say that for the institutional history of the ninth and tenth centuries it holds the same position, in relative importance, which the Notitia Dignitatum occupies for the fourth and fifth.

Once the actual organization existing in the time of Leo VI has been worked out, a further problem presents itself, namely, to trace the steps by which it developed out of the organization existing in the time of Justinian. The evidence of our literary sources shows us that in all main essentials the later system existed in the eighth century. The transformations were effected between the end of the sixth century and the middle of the eighth, in the darkest period of Imperial history, for which we have little more than meagre second-hand chronicles and a few incidental notices in ecclesiastical documents.

In practice, however, it is impossible to separate the two investigations, namely, that of the institutions actually existing in the ninth century, and that of their history. The principal object of the present study is to determine the details of the ninth-century organization, but, as Philotheos, our main guide, only gives the names of the officials and does not indicate their functions, we are obliged to trace the offices, so far as we can, into the past, in order to discover what they were In the case of many of the subordinate officials we have no data, and must leave their functions undetermined.

#### (2) Text of Philotheos.

As the foundation of these investigations, a critical text of Philotheos is indispensable. The Klêtorologion has come down to us as part of the second book (cc. 52–54) of the *De Cerimoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogennetos. But it was an independent treatise; it formed no part of Constantine's treatise, but was appended to it, along with other documents, probably by the Emperor's literary executors, shortly after his death, as I have shown in a study which I published on the Ceremonial Book in 1907.<sup>1</sup>

The treatise known as *De Cerimoniis* was first published by Leich and Reiske at Leipzig, in 1751–4, in two volumes. It was re-edited by Bekker for the Bonn edition of the Byzantine historians in 1829. Bekker consulted but did not make a complete collection of the MS.

The sole MS. in which this work of Constantine has come down to us is preserved in the Stadtbibliothek of Leipzig (Rep. i, 17). It is a fine large quarto parchment; the titles and lists of contents are in red ink, and the initials at the beginnings of chapters are coloured. It seems to have been written about the end of the eleventh century. It contains 265 folia, but ff. 1–212 are occupied by another treatise of Constantine, which in the Bonn edition curiously appears as an appendix to Book I of the *De Cerimoniis*. I have shown that it is an entirely distinct treatise.<sup>2</sup> It concerns military expeditions conducted by the Emperor in person, and I have designated it as  $\pi\epsilon\rho l$   $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\tau\alpha\xi\epsilon\iota\delta(\omega\nu$ .

Until recently our only source for the text of the work of Philotheos was the Leipzig MS. But some years ago Theodor Uspenski, the Director of the Russian Archaeological Institute at Constantinople, found a portion of the text in a Greek codex in the Patriarchal library at Jerusalem. This MS. is numbered 39 in the Catalogue of Papadopoulos-Kerameus.<sup>3</sup> It was written in the twelfth or thirteenth century. The portion of the treatise which it contains (ff. 181–3, 192–4) is unfortunately small, corresponding to less than eleven pages of the Bonn edition. The fragment begins with  $\tau \phi \mu o \beta = p$ . 726,<sup>4</sup> and ends at  $\kappa a \tau a \tau a \tau a \xi v \tau \nu \mu a \sigma a \sigma a \nu = p$ . 736. Uspenski collated the fragment with the Bonn text and published his collation in Vol. III of the Izviestiia of the Russian Archaeological

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> English Historical Review, April, 1907.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> English Historical Review, July, 1907, p. 439.

<sup>3</sup> Ίεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> I refer throughout to the pages of Bekker's ed. which are entered in the margin of my text, and in most cases add the line for the convenience of those who care to refer to that ed.

Institute at Constantinople (pp. 98 sqq. Sofia, 1898). The occurrence of this fragment in the Jerusalem MS. illustrates the fact that the Klêtorologion circulated quite independently of the De Cerimoniis, with which it has been accidentally connected. Uspenski observes (p. 101) that 'it is impossible to doubt that as a practical manual the treatise of Philotheos must have been diffused in separate copies'.

But for the main bulk of the text we depend exclusively on the Leipzig MS. With a view to the text which I now publish, I had photographs made (by kind permission of the Oberbibliothekar) of the 27 folia which contain the treatise (cc. 52, 53). A comparison shows that the Bonn text is by no means trustworthy or accurate. The MS. itself is also a very careless copy of the original. It is full of errors, which were left undetected by Reiske and Bekker. Bekker did not study the subject at all, and Reiske, although he published a learned commentary, never made a methodical examination of the official organization, and therefore was not in a position to criticize and control the text, or to detect inconsistencies and mistakes.

The paucity of paragraphs and the absence of any tabular arrangement render the Bonn edition extremely inconvenient for practical use. I have endeavoured to remedy this defect. In introducing tabular arrangement I am only reverting to the form which the author undoubtedly adopted himself. For tabular arrangement is partly preserved in the Lipsiensis, and there can be hardly any doubt that Philotheos wrote his lists of offices in the form of a  $\pi \ell \nu \alpha \xi$  or tabula.

## (3) Contents and sources of the Klêtorologion. The Taktikon Uspenski.

The superscription of the Klêtorologion states that it was compiled in September of Indiction 3=A.M. 6408 (=September 1, 899–August 31, 900), i. e. September, A. d. 899. The author describes himself as 'Imperial protospatharios and atriklines'. The duty of the atriklinai was to conduct the ceremonial of the Imperial banquets in the palace, to receive the guests and arrange them in order of precedence. In the MS. we find the form  $d\rho\tau\iota\kappa\lambda\iota\nu\eta$ s as well as  $d\tau\rho\iota\kappa\lambda\iota\nu\eta$ s, but the latter is the true form of the word, which is evidently derived

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The ἔκθεσις of Epiphanios, which Philotheos appended to his treatise, and which appears as c. 54, does not concern my purpose, and I have omitted it. I may note here that (except in a few cases like σέκρετον, τοποτηρητής) I have not normalized the orthographical variations of the MS. but have retained the double forms καμίσια: καμήσια, ἀλλαξίματα: -ήματα, στράτορες: -ωρες, ἀτρικλίνης: ἀρτικλίνης (but not ἀρτοκλ.), &c.

12

from a triclinio (cp. ἀσηκρητις). κλητόριον was a technical word for an Imperial banquet,<sup>2</sup> and the verb κλητορεύω was used both in the general sense of inviting,3 and also in the special sense of receiving the guests and announcing their names in order of precedence,4 a duty which devolved on the atriklines. To fulfil this duty, a list of the ministers, officials, and dignitaries, who had a right to be entertained in the palace, arranged in order of precedence, was indispensable to the atriklines, and such a list was called a κλητορολόγιου. These lists were revised from time to time; for not only might new offices be instituted and old ones abolished, but changes might be made in the order of precedence.

That such changes were made is clear from the comparison of Philotheos with an earlier document which was published by Uspenski from the same MS., in which he found a portion of Philotheos.5 This is a Τακτικόν, or table of ranks, which was compiled under Michael III and Theodora. The title is:-

Τακτικου εν επιτόμφ γενόμενου επί Μιχαήλ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου καὶ Θεοδώρας της δρθοδοξοτάτης καὶ άγίας αὐτοῦ μητρός.

Uspenski has not touched upon the limits of the date of this document, but it can be fixed within fourteen years. The fall of Theodora occurred at the beginning of A.D. 856,6 so that the Taktikon must have been compiled before that year and after A.D. 842, the year of the accession of Michael. Internal evidence bears out the date of the superscription. The Strategos of Cherson (στρατηγος των κλιμάτων) is mentioned; the first Strategos of Cherson 7 was appointed by Theophilus (c. A.D. 834). The Charsian province appears as a kleisura not a stratêgis 8; this agrees with the Arabic lists which describe the themes as they existed in the period A.D. 838-845.9

<sup>2</sup> Suidas explains κλητώριον as ή βασιλική τράπεζα. Cp. Pseudo-Symeon 703, Leo VI crowned Anna, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκ τύπου κλητόρια μὴ οὔσης Αὐγούστης.

4 We meet it in this sense in Philotheos.

8 P. 123, where we must read the singular δ κλεισουράρχης Χαρσιανοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> It occurs in Gen. 31,1 τοῦ τὴν ἐπιστασίαν ἔχοντος τῶν εἰς τράπεζαν κεκλημένων δν ἀτρικλίνην φημίζουσι. The Latin version renders rightly a triclinio, and Sophocles gives the same explanation. The word does not appear in Ducange.

Theoph. 375<sub>19</sub> (Justinian II) πρὸς ἀριστόδειπνον κλητορεύων.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> loc. cit. 109 sqq. A notable example of changes in precedence is furnished by the different positions of the Domestic of the Excubiti and the Prefect of the City in the two lists.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See the evidence in Hirsch, Byzantinische Studien, 60-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cont. Th. 123.

<sup>9</sup> Of Ibn Khurdâdhbah, Ibn al-Fakih, and Kudâma, depending on a work of Al-Garmi, who had been a captive among the Romans and was redeemed in

A.D. 873 the Charsian theme was under a Stratêgos.<sup>1</sup> Kolonea, a theme in A.D. 863, is omitted, as in the Arabic lists.<sup>2</sup> The earliest mention hitherto known of the Stratêgos of Chaldia was in the Arabic lists; he appears in the Taktikon.<sup>3</sup>

The Taktikon is an epitomized catalogue of officials and dignitaries, for the purpose of showing their order of precedence. It is therefore not arranged like the Notitia Dignitatum (of the fifth century) in which the subordinate officials are placed under their chiefs. It is arranged in classes, according to ranks (patricians, &c.). It is not a klêtorologion (or it would have been so named), but it must have served court ceremonials; perhaps it was a handbook of the master of ceremonies ( $\delta \tau \hat{\eta} s \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \tau \delta \sigma \epsilon \omega s$ ).  $T \alpha \kappa \tau \iota \kappa \delta \beta \iota \beta \lambda \delta a$  are mentioned by the biographer of Theophilus (Cont. Th. 142), and evidently mean books which deal with court ceremonial.  $\tau \delta \xi \iota s$  meant, among other things, a 'ceremony', and we might render  $\tau \alpha \kappa \tau \iota \kappa \delta \nu$  as 'ceremonial list'.

A new list of this kind was naturally compiled with the help of older lists which it was intended to supersede. Philotheos tells us, as we shall see, that he made use of older klêtorologia. Now in the Taktikon we can detect certain inconsistencies which must have arisen in the process of bringing an older Taktikon up to date. (1) The governor of Chaldia appears both as stratêgos (113) and as archon (123). I infer that Chaldia had been an archontate till recently, when it had been made a stratêgis. The new dignity is duly inserted, but the compiler omitted to strike out the old title. (2) The same thing has happened in the case of Crete. We did not know before the position of Crete in the administrative organization, before the Saracen conquest. The Taktikon shows that it was

A.D. 845. For these lists see Brooks, J. H. S., xxi. 67 sqq. (1901) and Gelzer, 81 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> See Gen. 122. But in A.D. 863 it was still a kleisurarchy, Cont. Th. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Cappadocia, which is still a kleisurarchy in the Arabic lists, is omitted altogether in the text. But this is probably a scribe's mistake. The text has (p. 123):—

οί κλεισουράρχαι οί κλεισουράρχαι Χαρσιανοῦ

οί κλεισουράρχαι Σωζοπόλεως

In the second and third cases of  $\kappa\lambda$ , must clearly be errors for  $\delta$   $\kappa\lambda\epsilon_i\sigma\sigma\nu\rho\dot{\rho}\rho\chi\eta s$ . But the first of  $\kappa\lambda$ , cannot be right. 'The kleisurarchs' would not be followed by a list of particular kleisurarchs. I have no doubt that we should read  $\delta$   $\kappa\lambda\epsilon_i\sigma\sigma\nu\rho\dot{\rho}\rho\chi\eta s$  ( $Ka\pi\pi\alpha\delta\sigma\kappa\dot{\epsilon}$ ).

3 An ἄρχων Χαλδίας is also mentioned (123).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cp. e. g. Cer.  $5_{10}$ ,  $516_1$  ή τακτική μέθοδος  $517_{12}$ . Phil.  $(790_4)$  ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ τακτικοῦ παραγγέλματος.

governed by an archon (123). But a strategos of Crete also appears (115), and it seems curious that this change should have been made in the period immediately after the loss of the island. Perhaps we may suppose that some small islands of the Aegean were included in the circumscription of Crete, so that the Cretan commander was not quite without a province. It is possible that the appointment of a strategos of Crete might have been made in connexion with the expedition of Theoktistos in A.D. 843 (George Mon. ed. Bonn, 814), in anticipation of the reduction of the island. In that case the date of the Taktikon would be  $842-3.^2$  (3) The same explanation must also apply to the duplication of  $\delta$   $\pi a \tau \rho l \kappa \iota os$   $\kappa a l$   $\sigma a \kappa \epsilon \lambda \lambda d \rho \iota os$  (111 and 115).

The treatise of Philotheos is divided into four Sections,  $\tau \delta \mu o \iota$ . The beginning of the first is not clearly marked, for  $\tau \delta \mu o s$  a' has been omitted in the MS. The editors have inserted it before the list of  $a \xi \iota \omega \mu a \tau a \delta \iota a \beta \rho a \beta \epsilon \iota \omega v$  (p. 708 B), without any indication that it is an insertion of their own. What led them to do this was, I have little doubt, the occurrence in the margin of the words  $\kappa \epsilon \phi \dot{a} \lambda a \iota o v$  a'. They took it for a heading corresponding to the subsequent  $\tau \delta \mu o s$   $\beta'$ ,  $\tau$ .  $\gamma'$ ,  $\tau$ .  $\delta'$ , and silently substituted  $\tau \delta \mu o s$  for  $\kappa \epsilon \phi \dot{a} \lambda a \iota o v$ . But it is clear that  $\kappa \epsilon \phi \dot{a} \lambda a \iota o v$  a' refers to the first of the eighteen classes of dignities, each of which is marked by a numeral in the margin. It is not quite certain where  $\tau \delta \mu o s$  a' originally stood. The most probable place seems to be at the end of the Preface, before the heading  $\dot{a} \rho \chi \dot{\eta} \tau \dot{\eta} s \dot{v} \pi o \theta \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \epsilon \omega s \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \gamma v o v$ , and I have placed it here conjecturally, but it is possible that it may have stood before the paragraph beginning  $\dot{\epsilon} \iota a \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \iota a \dot{\epsilon} u \dot{\epsilon} v \dot{\epsilon}$ 

Section I is introductory to the klêtorologion  $(\epsilon \nu \epsilon l \sigma a \gamma \omega \gamma \hat{\eta} s \tau a \xi \epsilon \iota)$  and consists of a  $\pi \lambda \iota \nu \theta \iota s$  or *laterculus* of the ranks and official dignities of the Empire. It falls into five parts: (1) orders of rank; (2) great

<sup>1</sup> If the seal found at Gortyn, with the legend  $\Sigma[\tau]$ εφανου στρατ' (published by Xanthudides, Byz. Zeitschrift, 18, 177, 1909), belonged to a stratêgos of Crete

it must be referred to this period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I may call attention here to the fact that an archon of Dalmatia appears in Takt. Usp. (124) and a strategos is not mentioned. This bears on the date of a ninth-century seal of Bryennios, strategos of Dalmatia:  $B\rho \nu e \nu (i\varphi) \beta (a\sigma\iota\lambda \iota \kappa \hat{\varphi}) \sigma \pi a\theta (a\rho i\varphi)$  καὶ  $[\sigma\tau]\rho(a)\tau(\eta\gamma\hat{\varphi}) \Delta a\lambda \mu a\tau ia(s)$ , Sig. 205. (There is another example in which Br. is protospatharios.) Schlumberger ascribes it to Theoktistos Bryennios and dates it 'vers 840'. But there seems to be no authority for this. All we know of Theoktistos Bryennios is that he was  $\sigma\tau\rho a\tau\eta\gamma\delta s$  of Peloponnesus in the reign of Michael III (De adm. imp. 221). It is a mere guess that he is the Bryennios of the seal. In any case the Taktikon shows that the seal is later than A. p. 842.

official posts; (3) minor offices in the staffs and bureaux of the great officials; (4) orders of rank of eunuchs; (5) great offices confined to eunuchs.

Section II and Section III contain lists of the officials in the order in which they are introduced by the atriklines, according as they belong to different orders of rank. Section II deals with the highest ranks; Section III with the lower, beginning with the protospathars. These Sections ought to form one; the division is not logical or convenient. To the end of III are appended explanations as to the treatment of ecclesiastics from Rome, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and of Saracen, Bulgarian, and German guests.

Section IV, which is the longer half of the treatise, contains directions for the conduct of the court banquets throughout the year: what guests are to be invited, how they are to be introduced, where they are to sit, what they are to wear, &c. It is arranged in the order of the calendar, beginning with Christmas. There follow two memoranda (which are marked off in the MS. as cap. 53 of De Cerimoniis, Bk. 2), (1) on the pious largesses ( $\epsilon i \sigma \epsilon \beta i a \iota$ ) given by the Emperor to the officials on certain occasions, and (2) on the fees received by the atriklinai. These memoranda might appropriately have formed a separate Section, but mediaeval compilers were so clumsy and careless in the arrangement of their books that it would be imprudent to guess the omission of a  $\tau \delta \mu o s$ .

Having concluded with a recommendation that his 'Order of Rank'  $(\tau a \kappa \tau \iota \kappa \delta \nu)$  should be adopted as canonical, Philotheos adds an appendix on ecclesiastical precedence and reproduces a list of episcopal sees by Epiphanios of Cyprus (= De Cer. ii. c. 54). I have omitted this list, as it has no interest for the purpose of this study.

The author had before him older lists of dignities and descriptions of ceremonies, to which he refers in his preface as  $\partial \rho \chi a \partial a \sigma v \gamma \gamma \rho d \mu \mu a \tau a$ , at  $\tau \partial v \partial \rho \chi a (\omega v) \partial \kappa \theta \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \epsilon \iota s$  or  $\sigma v \gamma \gamma \rho a \phi a \dot{\epsilon}$ . Some of these were doubtless Taktika or tables of rank, of which a specimen is extant in the  $\tau a \kappa \tau \iota \kappa \dot{\sigma} v$  of the reign of Michael III, described above; and others were  $\kappa \lambda \eta \tau \sigma \rho \sigma \lambda \dot{\sigma} \gamma \iota a$  which dealt especially with the arrangements at the Imperial table. The title states that the work is compiled from old klêtorologia, and according to the first words of the preface this was the task imposed on the writer by his friends, men of his own calling. But afterwards he says that he did not use lists which were out of date, so that  $\partial \rho \chi a (\omega v)$  is hardly an appropriate description of his sources. For he writes: 'Since I have purposely passed over the expositions of the ancients, not all of them but those which time has rendered obsolete, I will subjoin in the form of a table, line by line,

the expositions which are both recognized and practised in the time of our sovrans Leo and Alexander.'

Now we find in the paragraph on the functions of the eunuchs (725) a distinct proof that this was transcribed from an *ecthesis* published in the name of an emperor, whom we cannot hesitate to identify with Leo VI.

Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα φυλάττεσθαι, τηρεῖσθαί τε καὶ πράττεσθαι ἀπαρασάλευτα καὶ διαμένειν βέβαια καθὼς ἡ εὐσεβὴς καὶ ἔνθεος βασιλεία ἡμῶν ἐξέθετο, ὡς καὶ ἐξ ἀρχαίων τῶν χρόνων παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν εὐσεβῶς βασιλευσάντων δικαίως ἐξετέθη.

Here Leo is speaking, not Philotheos. The ecthesis of Leo can hardly have been concerned exclusively with the dignities of the eunuchs, and I think we may conjecture with great probability that one of the lists of offices contained in Section I was transcribed from the Emperor's official book. In this Section the high officials are enumerated three times: (1) a full list, in order of precedence; (2) a full classified list; (3) a list of the staffs, &c. (this is not complete, because only two stratêgoi are named as samples, and a few high officials who have no subordinates are omitted). Now of these three lists (1) and (3) are completely in agreement. But (2) exhibits one important difference. (1) enumerates 60 officials, while (2) enumerates 61. The additional dignitary is the ἐταιρειάρχης. This raises a presumption that (2) was derived from a different document, and the words which conclude the first list καὶ αὖται τὰ νῦν τιμηθεῖσαι ἀξίαι έπὶ Λέουτος δεσπότου are in accordance with the hypothesis that the transcriber at this point passed to a different source. The use of different sources here may be supported by the fact that, while (2) divides the officials into seven classes, this division is also mentioned at the beginning of the Section, where only six classes ( $\xi \xi \mu \epsilon \rho \eta$ ) are given (the stratarchai being omitted).

It might be thought that we have further evidence that the source of Philotheos for his first list dated from the early years of Leo VI. It does not mention the theme of Longobardia. Now this province was not, as is generally supposed (for instance by Gelzer, 133), organized as a theme by Basil I. The stratêgoi who command in South Italy during and immediately after the conquest are not yet stratêgoi of Longobardia. The first who bears that title is Symbatikios in 891, but even then Longobardia has not yet been established as a distinct theme; for this commander is 'stratêgos of Macedonia, Thrace, Cephallenia, and Longobardia', and his successor George

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Trinchera, Syllabus graecarum membranarum, No. 3.

(A.D. 892) is 'stratêgos of Cephallenia and Longobardia'. Hence Gay has rightly concluded that it is not till after this year that Longobardia became a separate theme. But, on the other hand, there is no evidence that the separation was made before A.D. 900. Hence no inference can be drawn from the omission of Longobardia as to the date of the list.

The fact that the list includes the themes of Strymon and of Samos cannot be held to date it; for though the creation of these themes is often ascribed to Leo, this is by no means certain. The case of Thessalonica is a warning. Gelzer attributes the theme of Thessalonica to the Neuordnung of Leo VI (op. cit. 130); but this theme appears in the Taktikon of Michael III.<sup>3</sup> The themes of Strymon and Samos do not appear in that document,<sup>4</sup> but they may have been formed before the accession of Leo VI. The evidence, however, already adduced seems sufficient to date the source of the first list of Philotheos to the reign of Leo.

The lists of precedence in Sections II and III (cod. Lips.) agree with list 1 of Sect. I in omitting the hetaeriarch, but there are some variations in order. (a) In Section III the Drungarios of the Fleet follows, instead of preceding, the Logothete of the Course, and (b) the Logothete of the Flocks precedes, instead of following, the Protospathar of the Basilikoi (the latter does not occur in Section II); (c) in Section II the Comes Stabuli precedes  $\delta$   $\epsilon \kappa$   $\pi \rho \rho \sigma \omega \sigma \sigma v \tau \omega v \theta \epsilon \mu d \tau \omega v$ , but Section III agrees here with the lists of Section I. The variations are common to both MSS.

Another point of difference to be noticed between Section I and Sections II, III, is the treatment of the Magistri. In Section II we have at  $\delta \epsilon$  λοιπαὶ πᾶσαι τῆς δευτέρας ὑπάρχουσι τάξεως οἷου ὁ μάγιστρος, ὁ μάγιστρος, and in Section III (ad init.) simply  $\delta$  μάγιστρος. In both cases we might expect oἱ μάγιστροι.

We may turn to the evidence of the Jerusalem MS. collated by Uspenski. (1) In this MS. in the lists of precedence, both in Section II and in Section III, we find the Hetaeriarch (μέγας ἐταιριάρχης) immediately after the Drungarios of the Watch. The fact that he occurs in both lists shows that the omission in the Leipzig MS. is not accidental. (2) The Stratêgos of Longobardia appears after the Stratêgos of Sicily in Section II. He is not mentioned in any of the lists in the Leipzig MS. On the other hand, the stratêgos of Nikopolis is omitted in the Jerusalem MS.; but this may be a mere scribe's error

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chron. Vulturnense (Muratori, R. I. S. i. 2. 413).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> L'Italie méridionale, 171-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Uspenski, 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Phil. 713, 728.

(there are several other omissions in H which are clearly accidental). (3) Instead of ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος the Jerusalem MS. has throughout simply ἀνθύπατος. (It also has in most cases σπαθάριοι instead of σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι, but probably this is merely a mistake of the scribe.) (4) In Section II where the Leipzig MS. has ὁ μάγιστρος ὁ μάγιστρος the Jerusalem MS. has ὁ μάγιστρος; but this may be due to parablepsia. (5) The precedence of the protospatharioi of the Chrysotriklinos is said in L to have been established πάλαι (Section III, p. 732), but in H it is attributed to Leo VI.

The probable inference seems to be that the Jerusalem fragment belonged to a slovenly copy of a later recension of Philotheos than that which is represented by the Leipzig text, which was copied from the original. The editor, whether Philotheos himself or another, brought the treatise up to date by inserting the Stratêgos of Langobardia, and repaired the error of omitting the Hetaeriarch. The discrepancies between Section II and Section III seem to be due to the circumstance that Philotheos was using old lists of different dates and he did not succeed in eliminating all the inconsistencies.<sup>1</sup>

## (4) Scope of the following investigation. General comparison of the Constantinian with the later Byzantine System.

The following pages are not a complete commentary on Philotheos. The investigation is confined to the determination of the functions of the officials, and to the origin of the offices and of the orders of rank. I have not entered upon the subject of the fees  $(\sigma vv\eta'\theta\epsilon\iota a\iota)$  paid for dignities and offices, and the Imperial bounties  $(\epsilon \dot{v}\sigma\epsilon\beta'a\iota, \dot{a}\pi\kappa\kappa\dot{\rho}\mu\beta\iota a, \delta\hat{\omega}\rho a)$  to which the dignitaries were entitled. The latter and main part of the book of Philotheos—Section IV—is important for my purpose, as it throws light on many difficulties which arise out of the earlier part; but a commentary on it belongs not to this inquiry, but to a treatise on the court ceremonies.

From Philotheos we derive no information as to the civil government of the provinces, except so far as finance is concerned. The provincial judges are not mentioned. We hear nothing of οἱ ἀνθύπατοι καὶ ἔπαρχοι τῶν θεμάτων or οἱ πραίτορες τῶν θεμάτων who appear in the Takt. Usp. (118, 119). A large question of considerable

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Phil. 788<sub>11</sub> we meet the κατεπάνω of Paphlagonia. In the time of Philotheos, and since the early years of Michael III, the governor of Paphl. had been a  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\delta$ s (Phil. 713<sub>9</sub>, Takt. Usp. 113). Under Theophilus he had been a Katepano (De adm. imp. 178<sub>7</sub>), and perhaps Theophilus raised the dignity of the theme. It looks as if Philotheos were here using a document dating from more than sixty years back.

difficulty, touching the position and the districts of these officials, and their relations to the Stratêgoi, is involved, and I have not been able to discuss it in the present investigation.

A few remarks may be made here as to the general character of the organization of the ninth century as contrasted with the older system which it superseded.

If we compare the scheme of administration which was founded by Diocletian, and completed by his successors, and which remained intact, except in details, till the beginning of the seventh century, with the later Byzantine system, we find that while there is no break in continuity, and the changes seem to have been gradual, the result of these changes is the substitution of a new principle.

The older system has been described as a divine hierarchy. Gibbon designates its principle as 'a severe subordination in rank and office'.¹ There was a comparatively small number of great ministers and commanders-in-chief who were directly responsible to the Emperor alone. All the other administrators were ranged under these in a system of graded subordination. In the Notitia Dignitatum of thel East we can count twenty-two high offices,² to some of which all the rest were in subordinate relations.

In the ninth century it is quite different. There is no hierarchy of this kind, so far as office is concerned.<sup>3</sup> The number of independent officials responsible only to the Emperor is enormously larger. Instead of twenty-two it is about sixty. And these numbers do not fully express the magnitude of the change. For in the fifth and sixth centuries the territory ruled from Constantinople was far more extensive than in the ninth. It included Syria and Egypt and extended to the Danube. Long before the ninth century, Syria and Egypt and a great portion of the Balkan peninsula were lost.

This change was brought about in two ways. (1) The whole provincial administration was reorganized. The provincial territory was divided into a number of military districts, or Themes, and the governor of each theme, who was primarily a military commander, had also a certain civil jurisdiction. He was independent, subject only to the Emperor. He was not under the orders of any Master of Soldiers or Praetorian Prefect. In fact the Masters of Soldiers and the Praetorian Prefects disappeared. (2) The great central



<sup>1</sup> Decline and Fall, c. xvii, p. 169, in Bury, new ed. vol. ii (1909).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the reckoning I omit the castrensis, and include the Proconsul Asiae, who was not under the vicarius Asianae or the Praef. Praet. Orientis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The hierarchy of rank remains and has been developed into a more elaborate scale.

ministries of the Master of Offices, the Count of the Sacred Largesses, and the Count of the Private Estate, each of which consisted of many different departments, and had an extensive range of functions, were broken up into a large number of offices with restricted competence.

These changes were not brought about at a stroke, by a single deliberative act of administrative reform. They came about by a gradual series of modifications, but they all tended in the same direction, to substitute the principle of co-ordination for that of subordination, and to multiply supreme offices instead of placing immense powers in the hands of a few. We cannot point to any single emperor as the Diocletian of the new system. It is probable that Leo the Isaurian did much to normalize it, but it was in the seventh century under the Heraclian dynasty that the older system had broken down and been irrevocably abandoned, and the chief principles of the newer had been introduced. Even in the sixth century we can discern some foreshadowings of the change.

#### B. DIGNITIES (αἱ διὰ βραβείων ἀξίαι).

In the sixth century, apart from the exceptional titles of Caesar, nobilissimus, and curopalates, there were a number of dignities, unattached to office, which could be conferred by the Emperor. The highest of these was the Patriciate (introduced by Constantine), which was confined by a law of Zeno to men who had been consuls or prefects, but was opened by Justinian (Nov. 80) to all men of illustrious rank. There were also the titular offices of the consulship, the prefecture, and the stratelasia (magisterium militum). The acting administrative officials were distinguished as in actu positi or ξμπρακτοι 1 from the titular officials (ἄπρακτοι), who were of two kinds, (1) illustres vacantes, and (2) illustres honorarii.2 The vacantes not only bore the title but wore the cingulum, the insigne of office; the honorarii had the title but not the cingulum. But in all cases the dignity was conferred by codicilli. In the case of most offices, the titular dignity was probably conferred only on those who had once held the office, but the consulship, the prefecture, and the stratêlasia were regularly conferred on others than officials.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In later texts we generally find the forms ἔμπρατος and ἄπρατος, e.g. Cer. 239<sub>4</sub> κἂν στρατηγὸς ἔμπρατος κᾶν τε ἄπρατος. Cp. περὶ ταξ. 502<sub>19</sub> ἐν ταῖς ἐμπράτοις προελεύσεσιν. In Cer. 798 we find a curious third term μεσόπρατος. From this passage it would appear that ἔμπρατος was specially used of the Stratêgos, and μεσόπρατος πατρίκιος was applied to Patricians who held official posts in the capital (ὁ ἐμπολιτικὸς ὀφφικιάλιος).
<sup>2</sup> C. I. 12. 8. 2. Cp. Mommsen, Eph. Epig. v. 129.

comitiva, which was in principle an order of the same kind, had been appropriated with its three grades to particular offices, to which it belonged as a matter of course.

In the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, the number of these orders, or titular offices, was largely increased, and they were conferred by investiture with insignia. There were several schools of officers in the palace, who had various duties connected with the Imperial service: silentiarii, vestitores, mandatores, candidati, stratores, spatharii. All these titles came to be used as ranks of honour, and were conferred upon all the more important civil and military officials according to their degree. The chief of the school of spatharioi was entitled the protospatharios, and this term was adopted to designate a higher rank than spatharios—the rank next to Patrician itself. Between the spatharioi and protospatharioi was interpolated a new class of spatharokandidatoi. To the hypatoi (consuls) was added a new and higher class of disypatoi (bis consules).

The protospatharioi were probably not instituted as an order before the end of the seventh century. In the seventh century, the Patricians and Hypatoi were the two most eminent ranks, and the  $d\pi o \epsilon \pi d\rho \chi \omega \nu$  (ex Praefectis) and  $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \lambda d\tau a\iota$  were still very high dignitaries. In the course of the next two centuries these orders were rearranged and multiplied. The Patricians were divided into two ranks: the ordinary Patricians ( $\pi \epsilon \rho i \beta \lambda \epsilon \pi \tau o\iota$ ), who retained as their insigne ( $\beta \rho a \beta \epsilon \hat{\iota} o\nu$ ) the ivory tablets, and those to whom the dignity of Proconsul was added ( $\partial \nu \theta i \pi a \tau o\iota \kappa a i \pi a \tau \rho i \kappa o\iota$ ) who had purple tablets. More important and interesting is the creation of a new and higher rank, that of  $\mu a \mu i \sigma \tau \rho o\iota$ . This innovation was obviously connected with the abolition of the office of magister officiorum. At first it was intended that there should be only one magister (as there was only one curopalates); very soon we find more than one, but throughout the ninth century the dignity was sparingly conferred.

In this place it will be convenient to add a note on the use of the terms  $\check{a}\pi\rho\alpha\tau\sigma s$ ,  $\lambda\iota\tau\check{o}s$ , and  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\check{o}s$  which occur in Philotheos.  $\check{a}\pi\rho\alpha\tau\sigma s$  (vacans), to which reference has already been made, is used of persons who bear the titles of offices of which they do not actually perform the duties (e.g.  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\sigma \iota$ ,  $\delta\sigma\eta\kappa\rho\mathring{\eta}\tau a\iota$ , &c., see Phil.  $710_{11}$ ,  $737_3$ ,  $_5$ ,  $_7$ ).  $\lambda\iota\tau\check{o}s$  is applied to persons who have orders (dignities  $\delta\iota\grave{a}\beta\rho\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota(\omega\nu)$ ), but are not ministers or officials; Phil.  $729_{15}$  oi  $\lambda\iota\tauo\grave{a}\nu\vartheta\acute{\nu}\pi\alpha\tau\sigma\iota$ , ib.  $_{22}\lambda\iota\tau\mathring{\omega}\nu$   $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\kappa\iota\check{\omega}\nu$  (where there is question of an office being conferred on such),  $730_{15}$ .  $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\acute{o}s^1$  seems to be a less technical term, and to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The nearest equivalent of παγανός is 'ordinary'. Cp. Cer.  $548_{23}$  ἡμέραν π. ordinary day (not a s ecial feast),  $234_2$  κυριακὴν π. ordinary Sunday, 367 iππο-

be used in two senses, either as equivalent to  $\lambda\iota\tau\delta$ s, or to designate persons who were officials but had no rank  $\delta\iota\dot{a}$   $\beta\rho\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$  (these would naturally be functionaries in a very subordinate position). In the first meaning we find it in Phil.  $730_6$   $\epsilon l$   $\delta\dot{\epsilon}$   $\kappa a \lambda$   $\pi a \gamma a \nu o \lambda$   $\tau\dot{\nu}\chi$   $o \iota \epsilon \nu$   $\chi\omega\rho \lambda s$   $\dot{\epsilon}$   $\phi\phi\iota\kappa\iota\omega\nu$   $\tau\alpha\tau\rho\iota\kappa\iota\omega$  and  $736_{15}$   $\ddot{\nu}\pi\alpha\tau\omega$   $\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\omega$   $\dot{\tau}$   $\dot{\tau}$ 

Philotheos enumerates, in ascending scale, eighteen grades of dignity conferred by insignia, and as the lowest  $(\pi\rho\sigma\beta\delta\theta\mu\iota\sigmas)$  grade includes two titles which are on a parity, we have nineteen titles altogether. They are as follows:—

		List of	f Orders.	
1	*(a) στρατηλάτης \ *(b) ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων\	Insigne	(βραβείου)	: diploma
*2	σιλεντιάριος	,,	,,	gold staff
*3	βεστήτωρ	,,	,,	fiblatorion
4	μανδάτωρ	"	,,	red wand
5	κανδιδάτος	,,	"	gold chain (of special
				kind)
6	στράτωρ	,,,	,,	jewelled gold whip
*7	<b>ὔπατος</b>	,,	,,	diploma
8	σπαθάριος	,,	,,	gold-handled sword
9	σπαθαροκανδιδάτος	,,	,,	gold chain (of special
				kind)
*10	δισύπατος	29	,,	diploma
11	πρωτοσπαθάριος	,,	,,	jewelled gold collar
12	πατρίκιος	,,	,,	ivory inscribed tablets
13	(πατρίκιος καὶ) ἀνθύ-	29	"	purple inscribed tablets
	πατος			
14	μάγιστρος	"	,,	white gold-embroidered
				tunic, mantle, and belt
15	ζωστη πατρικία	,,	,,	ivory tablets (like Patri-
				cian)
16	κουροπαλάτης	,,	,,	red tunic, mantle, and
				belt
17	νωβελήσιμος	,,	,,	purple tunic, mantle, and
				belt
18	Καΐσαρ	,,,	,,	crown without cross

δρόμον ordinary horse race, Phil.  $769_{16}$  π. προέλευσις ordinary ceremony (opp. to ἔμπρατος προέλ,, see above). The use of παγανός for 'without office' originated the verb παγανοῦν, to deprive of office, which we find in Leo Diac.  $37_{22}$  τῶν ἀξιωμάιων παγανοῖ,  $96_{11}$ .

Five (six) of these dignities (marked by asterisks) are designated by Philotheos as senatorial (707<sub>11</sub> είς συγκλητικούς, 712<sub>14</sub> τη συγκλήτω άρμόζονται), the rest as προελευσιμαΐοι 1 οτ βασιλικαί (70712 είς προελευσιμαίους, 712, έν τοις βασιλικοίς κατατάττονται κώδιξιν). Apparently there were two cursus dignitatum, one a senatorial (ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, σιλ., βεστ., ὑπ., δισυπ.), the other of a military character (μανδ., κανδ., στρατ., σπαθ., σπαθαροκανδ., πρωτοσπ.); while the higher orders from Patrician upwards might be conferred on members of either class. Compare Cer. 24223 where the case is contemplated of the elevation to patrician rank of a person who οὐκ ἔστι συγκλητικός ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀπὸ σπαθίου.<sup>2</sup> But this question demands a special investigation, for which the seals furnish a good deal of material. It is noteworthy that in the seventh century we often find the titles of spathar and hypatos combined.

άξίαι προελευσιμαΐοι means dignities which gave a right to take part in the προελεύσεις or Imperial processions (cf. Reiske 160). holders of these titles formed in a general sense the Imperial retinue. Holders of the synklêtic titles took part in some ceremonies, but not generally in the προελεύσεις (πομπαί, πρόκενσα). All the βασιλικοί resident in the capital formed in a wide sense the προέλευσις or cortège of the Emperor; so that σπαθάριοι ἐξωτικοί (i.e. not resident in the capital) are designated in Takt. Usp. 123 as έξω της προελεύσεως.

All those who held ἀξίαι προέλ., from the magistri down to the candidati, were grouped together for some ceremonial purposes as ἄρχοντες τοῦ Λαυσιακοῦ (a building in the Palace), a category which also included eunuchs who were praepositi or protospathars. See Phil. 7873-7.

#### (1) ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων and στρατηλάται.

We know that the honorary ἐπαρχότης existed before the sixth century from a law of Justinian, Nov. 90 (ed. Zach. i. 500), which refers to it as ancient. ἴσμεν γὰρ ὡς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν τινὸς ἐπαρχότητος σχήμα ην δυοραρίαν εκάλουν, κωδικίλλων εκ της βασιλείας επ' αὐτη παρεχομένων κτλ. Menander (fr. 46, p. 255) mentions that Tiberius II honoured the physician Zacharias τη λεγομένη ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων ἀξία. The historian Evagrius was an ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων (p. 4, l. 1; p. 241, l. 6). The importance of the rank in this earlier period is illustrated by Cer. 306 (an old ceremony, not later than seventh century, since the praetorian

<sup>1</sup> So I correct for the προσελευσιμαίοι of the MS. The same correction should be made, I think, in Miklosich and Müller, Acta et Diplomata, vi. 23. It seems probable that Philotheos intended to include the ατρατηλάται among the Senatorials. WHITE REPORTS A SET OF THE SET

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. 243<sub>21</sub>.

prefect appears; cp. 343<sub>12</sub>), and by early seals. Most of those published in Sig. 508-11 are of the sixth and seventh centuries; some of them are of men who had actually filled the office of Praet. Praef. or Praef. Urbis.<sup>1</sup> The dignity had been degraded to be the lowest in the scale, perhaps in the eighth century, at all events by the reign of Michael III (see Cer. 633<sub>10</sub>).

The association of the στρατηλασία with the ἀποεπαρχότηs is illustrated by the same Novel of Justinian (p. 501), καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ στρατηλασίαs praefectorias εἶναι οἱ ἡμέτεροι λέγουσι νόμοι, and the στρατηλασία could be conferred without a post, οἱ δὲ ψιλοὶ τῆς στρατηλασίας κωδίκιλλοι μόνην παρέχουσιν ἀξίαν τύχης (sc. βουλευτικῆς) οὐκ ἐλευθεροῦντες. The few seals of στρατηλάται belong to the sixth or seventh century, Sig. 366–7. Schlumberger, ib. 337, refers the seal of Tatas στρατηλ(άτου) καὶ κανδ(ιδάτου) συνδρουγγαρίου to seventh or eighth century. I suspect it belongs to the eighth century, and illustrates the degradation of the dignity below that of κανδιδάτος. Theopemptos, described as πρωτοστρατηλάτης (seventh century, Sig. 367), may have been the senior or doyen of the class of στρατηλάται (cp. πρωτοπατρίκιος). These στρατ. must not be confused with the local στρατ. whom we find in Egypt in the sixth century (M. Gelzer, Studien zur byz. Verw., 30).

The  $d\pi d$   $\epsilon \pi d\rho \chi \omega \nu$  (cp. Cer. 99, 247) and the στρατηλάται are associated in Cer. 202, 235, 237.

It is to be noted that in the case of these dignitaries, the order is conferred (as in early times) by a codicil  $(\chi d\rho \tau \eta s)$ , which, however, is now regarded as a  $\beta \rho \alpha \beta \epsilon \hat{\iota} o \nu$ . So too in the case of the hypatoi and patricians.

#### (2) σιλεντιάριοι.

The silentiaries originally belonged to the class of the *cubicularii*; they were in the *officium* of the Praepositus and under the jurisdiction of the Mag. Off. Cp. C. I. 12, 16, 4. They were *clarissimi*, ib. 5. The ceremony of their investiture by the Emperor with the insigne of

<sup>1</sup> The seal of Eugenios ἀποεπάρχων καὶ δρουγγαρίου is interesting. Schlumberger, Sig. 336, refers it to Eugenios mentioned by Theophanes A. M. 6053 (A.D. 560). Here the title is evidently honorary. It is not unlikely that the seal of Theodore ἀποεπάρχων καὶ ἐξάρχου Ἰταλίας (Sig. 211) belonged to Theodore Kalliopas, who was exarch in the seventh century (Lib. Pont. 126, 133), and is described in a papyrus (Marini, Pap. Dipl. 132) as gloriosus praefecturius. I believe that praefecturius is used as the equivalent of ἀποεπάρχων (Diehl, Études sur l'adm. byz. dans l'ex. de Ravenne, 166, n. 2, suggests praefectus). L. Hartmann, note to Gregory I, Epp. ix. 115, vol. ii. p. 120 (Eutychum—inlustrem praefecturium) is undecided.—Note that ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων is often treated as declinable: plur. ἀποεπάρχοντες or written ἀπὸ ἐπάρχοντες.

their office, the golden band, is described by Peter Patr. (Cer. 389); four silentiaries were appropriated to the service of the Empress (ib.). Their chief duty, from which they derived their name, was to act as marshals at Imperial audiences; silentium nuntiare was the technical phrase for calling a meeting of the consistorium (Justinian, Nov. 80, p. 463; cp. Mommsen, 482). (For ὁ ἀδμηνσιονάλιος see below under C. VII. 6.)

The origin of the *silentiarii* as a senatorial rank is explained by a constitution of Theodosius II (C. Th. 6, 23, 4): cum optatam quietem acceperint (after their retirement from service) et inter senatores coeperint numerari, honore curiae sine aliqua functione laetentur, &c. They were freed from senatorial burdens; but this privilege was to be confined to thirty. The institution of a special senatorial class of ex-silentiaries naturally led to the creation of honorary silentiaries.

There are several seals in which the silentiariate appears as an order. Panchenko viii. 240 (eighth or ninth century) σιλ. καὶ βασιλικὸς νοτάριος, Sig. 603 Michael, Chartularios of the Vestiarion is ὕπατος and σιλεντιάριος, ib. 604 Σεργίφ σιλεντιαρίφ καὶ βασιλικῷ βεστίτωιρ, cp. the earlier seal 602 (3) σελεντιαρίω καὶ βεστίτωρη.

#### (3) βεστήτορες.

The vestitores, or officers of the wardrobe, were, like the silentiaries, cubicularii, and the origin of the  $\beta\epsilon\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}\tau\sigma\rho\epsilon$ s as a senatorial order was doubtless similar. Their creation by a petitorium, signed by the Emperor, is mentioned in Peter Patr., Cer. 390. For their duties cp. Cer. 305, 342, 129, Theoph. 226<sub>20</sub>. For seals of officers who had the rank of  $\beta\epsilon\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}\tau\omega\rho$  see Sig. 180 (5), 194 (3). Cp. ib. 602 (3, 4), 603 (6), 604 (15). Compare Bieliaev, i. 172 sq.

#### (4) μανδάτορες, (5) κανδιδάτοι.

See below under the office of the πρωτοσπαθάριος των βασιλικών.

#### (6) στράτορες.

See below under the office of the Protostrator.

#### (7) ὕπατοι.

After the abolition of the consulate by Justinian and the deaths of those who had been consuls before that date, the consular order of the Senate was composed entirely of honorary  $\tilde{v}_{\pi\alpha\tau\sigma\iota}$  (who consulates

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In illustration of their duties cp. Peter (Cer. 426), Cer. 233, 247, 306.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Schlumberger has confounded in the same category vestétores, vesturchai, &c.

insignibus decorantur, Justinian, Nov. 80, p. 464). The honorary consulate can be amply illustrated from seals (ὅπατος and ἀπὸ ὑπάτων), of sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, of which a selection is published in Sig. 476 sqq. A seal of Sisinnios ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, who was Count of Opsikion in the eighth century, and prominent at the time of the revolt of Artavasdos, may specially be mentioned (Mél. 250). The title may also be illustrated from the addresses of letters of Theodore of Studion (cp. I, 44; II, 148, 218, 149, 173, also p. 1678, ed. Migne). It is to be remembered that the ὅπατοι were a senatorial order; compare the formula in the ceremonies τοτανται οἱ ὅπατοι κονσιστώριον (καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συγκλητικοί), Cer. 192, 209, 232, &c. ὑπατικοί (consulares) means the same thing: οἱ συγκλητικοὶ ὑπατικοί 303, cp. 288, 289, 291, 291, 24.

#### (8) σπαθάριοι.

See below under the office of the Πρωτοσπαθάριος τῶν βασιλικῶν.

#### (9) σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι.

The earliest mention of a σπαθαροκανδιδάτος seems to occur in Sebaeos (ed. Patkanian, 114) in reference to A.D. 645; the next in the First Letter of Gregory II to the Emperor Leo III διὰ αὐγουσταλίου τοῦ σπαθαροκανδιδάτου, Mansi, xii. 959, and the officer who pulled down the Image 'in the Chalkoprateia' is described as a spatharocandidatus, ib. 970. This letter indeed is almost certainly a fabrication of much later date than the age of Leo III,2 but the insignificant detail of the rank of these officers may rest on older and genuine evidence. In any case, the institution of the order of spatharocandidates seems to belong to the first half of the seventh century. Panchenko has published a seal (13, 85), Κωνσταντίνω [ὑπ]άτω καὶ σπαθαροκανδιδάτω which he attributes to the seventh or eighth century. A text in Chron. Pasch. 696, sub A.D. 605 'Ιωάννης καὶ Τζίττας σπαθάριοι καὶ κανδιδάτοι suggests that σπαθάριοι, who were also candidati, may have been set apart as a special class of σπαθάριοι and were afterwards elevated into a new and separate order. It is remarkable that spatharocandidates are not mentioned in the Taktikon Uspenski.

¹ In Procop. H. A. c. 2 (p. 14 Haury) ἔς τε ὑπάτων ἀξίωμα ἥκεις the honorary consulship is meant, as Photios to whom the words refer was never an acting consul. The honorary consulate was conferred by Anastasius on Chlodwig, Greg. Tur. ii. 38 ab Anast. imp. codecillos de consoluto accepit... ab ea die tamquam consul... est vocitatus (where tamquam consul = ex consule, the official expression for the honorary consulate). Proconsul in the Lex Salica (125 ed. Behrend) is due to misunderstanding.

<sup>-</sup> Cp. Bury, in Gibbon, vol. v, Appendix 14.

In the reign of Theophilus, Petronas was a spatharocandidate before he was raised to the rank of protospatharios (Cont. Th. 123). Among the seals published by Schlumberger may be mentioned those of Martin, Logothete of the Course (Sig. 529) [βασι]λικῷ σπαθαροκανδιδάτφ καὶ λογοθέτη τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου, of Kosmas protonotary of Thessalonica (ib. 103), and of Clement, commerciarius of Hellas (ib. 167). These and the seal of Thomas (ὑπάτφ βασ. σπ. καὶ τουρμάρχη, Panchenko, xiii. 106) are not later than ninth century. Spatharocandidates will also be found in the correspondence of Photios.

The spatharocandidates were not, like the spathars, under the Protospatharios  $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$ ; they did not form a taxis in any officium; and in this they resembled the order of the protospatharioi.

## (10) δισύπατοι.

The senatorial order of δισύπατοι seems to have been a late institution, perhaps of the eighth century, and we seldom hear of it. Theodore of Studion addresses a letter (i. 12, ed. Migne, p. 949)  $\Theta \omega \mu \hat{a}$  δισυπάτω, and in the reign of Leo V we meet  $\Theta \omega \mu \hat{a}s$  πατρίκιος  $\hat{a}\pi \delta$  δισυπάτων γενόμενος (Scr. Incert.  $358_{12}$ ), who may be the same person. The disupatoi seem to have been a very small class; seals are rare. Of the five published by Schlumberger, only one (Sig. 215) is as early as the ninth century:  $\Theta \epsilon o \delta \omega \tau \omega$  δισυπάτ $(\omega)$  πατρ(ικίω)  $\beta (\alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \hat{\omega})$  (πρωτο)  $\sigma \pi (\alpha \theta a \rho \iota \omega)$  καὶ διοικ $(\dot{\eta} \tau \eta)$  Σικελ( $\dot{\iota} a s$ ).

## (11) πρωτοσπαθάριοι.

The protospatharios was originally the chief of the taxis of Imperial spatharioi. Narses, the eunuch and cubicularius, held this post under Justinian (Theoph. 243<sub>31</sub>). The order of protospatharioi was probably differentiated from the spatharioi under the Heraclian dynasty. In A.D. 717–8 we meet Sergios δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Σικελίας. Numerous seals of protospatharioi of the eighth and ninth centuries will be found in Schlumberger, Sig.

## (12) πατρίκιοι.

The order of patricians founded by Constantine survived till the latest period of the Empire. In the fourth and fifth centuries it was a very high dignity, sparingly bestowed. Theodosius II made an enactment disqualifying eunuchs (Theoph. 96<sub>21</sub>), but in the sixth century this was a dead letter. Justinian (as we saw above) opened the patriciate to all *illustres*, and in his time the number of patricians increased considerably. The same law of Justinian (Nov. 80) enacts

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I question whether the seal of Constantine Kontomytes (ib. 109) is as early.

that consuls should have precedence among patricians. In the reign of Justinian II (A.d. 711) we find Barisbakurios, the Count of the Opsikian Theme, designated as  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \sigma \pi \alpha \tau \rho \kappa \iota \sigma$  (Theoph.  $380_{29}$ ), which appears to mean that he was the senior or doyen of the  $i\epsilon\rho a$   $\tau a\xi\iota s$   $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \ \dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau \iota \mu \omega \nu \ \pi \alpha \tau \rho \iota \kappa \iota \omega \nu \ (Cer. 37_4)$ . A seal of this patrician is published by Schlumberger (Sig. 249):  $Ba\rho a\sigma \beta a[\kappa] o\nu \rho \iota \omega \ \pi \alpha \tau \rho \iota \kappa \iota \omega \ \kappa \dot{\omega} \mu[\iota \tau] \iota \ \tau o\hat{\upsilon} \ \theta \epsilon o \phi \nu \lambda \dot{\alpha} \kappa \tau \upsilon \ \beta a\sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa o\hat{\upsilon} \ \dot{\upsilon} \iota \kappa \dot{\iota} \upsilon \nu$ . For the patricians as an order in the Senate cp. John of Epiphania, F. H. G. iv. 274 (oi  $\pi$ .  $\tau \hat{\eta} s$   $\sigma \nu \nu \kappa \lambda \hat{\eta} \tau \upsilon \beta o \upsilon \lambda \hat{\eta} s$ ).

· (13) ἀνθύπατοι.

This order seems to have been of comparatively late institution. Schlumberger (Sig. 438) has published some seals of ἀνθύπατοι (who are not patricians) mostly later than the ninth century. One (No. 6), with Κωνσταντίνου ἀνθυπάτου, is of the sixth or seventh century, and probably belonged to a provincial governor with the proconsular title. We may suspect that No. 5 ( $\Delta \alpha \nu i \delta \alpha \alpha \nu \theta \nu \pi \alpha \tau \omega$ ) is also earlier than the Isaurian epoch. The first occasion on which we hear of a πατρίκιος καὶ ἀνθύπατος is when the Emperor Theophilus raised Alexius Musele to be patrician and anthypatos (Cont. Th. 108). There seems good reason to think that at this time there was no order of ἀνθύπατοι, and that the title conferred on Alexius (who was presently elevated to the rank of magister) was singular. For in the Taktikon Uspenski, which was drawn up soon after the death of Theophilus, we find no mention of πατρ. καὶ ἀνθ. distinguished from simple πατρίκιοι (as we find in the work of Philotheos), but we find δ πατρίκιος καὶ ἀνθύπατος enumerated as a singular office or dignity (p. 111, between the Domestic of the Schools and the Strategos of the Armeniacs). It is legitimate to infer that under Theophilus, and in the first part of the reign of Michael III, there was only one ἀνθύπατος, and we may guess that the office was created for Alexius Musele. In that case the description of the ceremony for the creation of ἀνθύπατοι in Cer. i. 49 may date from the reign of Theophilus.

In the reign of Michael III, Antigonos, Domestic of the Schools, is described as ἀνθύπατος καὶ πατρίκιος (Cont. Th. 236). We may conjecture that it was in the latter part of the reign of Michael III that the rank of ἀνθύπατος was extended, so as to constitute a class higher than patricians, to which only patricians could be raised. In the time of Leo VI it seems to have been conferred on not a few, as he contemplates the possibility of almost any of the chief administra-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is perhaps significant that according to Stephen Asolik, ii. 6, p. 171 transl. Dulaurier, Theophilus conferred the proconsular patriciate on Ashod, an Iberian prince. Cp. Marquart, Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streif≈üge, 421.

tive officials being invested with this order. The  $\partial \nu \theta \dot{\nu} \pi a \tau o$  are usually designated as  $\partial \nu \theta \dot{\nu} \pi a \tau o$  in  $\pi a \tau \rho \dot{\nu} \kappa i o$  (regularly in Philotheos and constantly in the Ceremonies); cp.  $\partial \nu \theta \nu \pi a \tau o \pi a \tau \rho i \kappa i o v$ , in  $\pi \epsilon \rho l$   $\tau a \xi$ .  $485_{17}$ .

(14) μάγιστροι.

In A.D. 718–19 Nicetas Xylinites was the  $\mu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \iota \sigma \tau \rho o s$  of the deposed Emperor Artemios (Theoph.  $400_{25}$   $\mu \alpha \gamma (\sigma \tau \rho o v$   $\alpha \dot{v} \tau o \dot{v})^{1}$ ; in A.D. 741 the patrician Theophanes was  $\mu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \iota \sigma \tau \rho o s$   $\dot{\epsilon} \kappa$   $\pi \rho o \sigma \dot{\omega} \pi o v$  of Artavasdos (ib. 415<sub>3</sub>). Under Constantine V and his successors (A.D. 767–89) a certain Peter is  $\mu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \iota \sigma \tau \rho o s$  (ib. 442<sub>26</sub>, 456<sub>18</sub>, 464<sub>23</sub>), and in A.D. 792 Michael Lachanodrakon (ib. 468<sub>1</sub>).

In Cer. i. 43 a document is preserved dating from A.D. 768, and describing the ceremony of investing the sons of Constantine V with the rank of Caesar.<sup>2</sup> There we find  $\delta$   $\mu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\sigma$  playing a part in the ceremony  $(219_9, 220_4)$ , but he is also designated as  $\delta$   $\pi\rho\tilde{\omega}\tau\sigma\sigma$   $\mu$ .  $(224_5, 13)$ , while at certain stages of the solemnity of  $\mu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\sigma\iota$  appear as a velum  $(218_{11}, 221_{16})$ . At this time, then,  $\mu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\sigma\iota$  was a dignity which could be conferred on more than one person, but among the  $\mu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\sigma\iota$  there was one,  $\delta$   $\mu$ . or  $\delta$   $\pi\rho\tilde{\omega}\tau\sigma\sigma$   $\mu$ ., who had certain high functions in the court. Evidently this office is to be identified with that held by Xylinites in A.D. 718 and Theophanes in A.D. 741.

The μάγιστρος of the eighth century is the magister officiorum shorn of most of his old functions. This is not only clear from the name (the magistri militum and the magistri scriniorum were not termed μάγιστροι in Greek), but can be proved by several facts. (1) The part which the μάγιστρος plays in the eighth-century ceremony, just referred to, is appropriate to the position occupied by the mag. off. as master of ceremonies. (2) In ceremonies which are of older date (Cer. i. 68 and 70)<sup>3</sup> the μάγιστρος acts as master of ceremonies; and these seem to supply a link between the eighth and seventh centuries. (3) In the ceremony for the creation of a μάγιστρος (i. 46) he is described as κεφαλή τοῦ σεκρέτου (23313), which seems to mean that he was the highest in rank at an imperial audience ( $\sigma \epsilon \kappa \rho \epsilon \tau o \nu = \kappa o \nu \sigma \iota \sigma \tau \omega \rho \iota o \nu$ , see below under the σεκρετικοί). This ceremony (231-3) dates from a time when there was only one μάγιστρος, for no other μάγιστροι are mentioned, whereas in the second ceremony described in the same chapter (234-6) the μάγιστροι appear. (4) Stylianos, the father-in-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See further below under the  $\lambda ογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου$ , p. 91, where the evidence for the mag, off, in the seventh century is given.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This was shown by Diehl. Cp. Bury, Ceremonial Book, 431.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Bury, ib. 433.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Contrast  $232_{19}$  with  $235_7$ ; in the second case the  $\mu a \gamma$ , must be already a patrician.

law and minister of Leo VI, was a  $\mu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \iota \sigma \tau \rho \sigma$ , and he (quite exceptionally) bore the full title of  $\mu$ .  $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$   $\delta \phi \phi \iota \kappa \iota \omega \nu$ , by which he is designated in Leo's Novels.

In the ninth century the chief evidence for the μάγιστροι is as follows:—

Theoktistos was  $\mu$ . under Nicephorus I and Michael I: Theodore Stud. Ep. i. 24, ed. Migne, Theoph.  $492_6$ , 500.

Under Michael II we hear of τὰς τῶν μαγίστρων τιμάς: Cont. Th. 723.

In the same reign Christophoros was made  $\mu$ .: Gen. 35<sub>2</sub>.

Theodore of Studion addressed a letter of consolation to Stephen, magister, apparently in A.D. 821, in which he is described (ad fin.) as  $\tau \hat{\eta} s$  συγκλήτου πρωτόβαθρου (Ep. ii. 76, ed. Migne).

Under Theophilus, Alexios Musele was raised to the rank of  $\mu$ . before he became Caesar: Cont. Th. 108<sub>3</sub>.

During the absence of Theophilus on a military expedition in A. d. 831, special responsibility devolved upon  $\delta$   $\mu\acute{a}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\sigma$  for the security of the city:  $\pi\epsilon\rho$ \(\tau\tau\xi\).  $\tau\alpha\xi$ . 504.

Manuel was  $\mu$ . in and after A. D. 842: Cont. Th. 148<sub>13</sub>.

In the Taktikon Uspenski μάγιστροι do not appear.

Under Theophilus or Michael III, Arsaber (brother-in-law of the Empress Theodora) became  $\mu$ ., and it was perhaps in Michael's reign that Theodora's nephews-in-law, Stephen and Bardas, became  $\mu$ .: Cont. Th. 175.

Under Michael III his uncle Petronas was made  $\mu$ .: Gen. 97<sub>8</sub>; and Basil received  $\dot{\eta} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mu$ .  $\tau \iota \mu \dot{\eta}$ , ib. 111<sub>19</sub>.

In the same reign (Leo) Theodatakes was made a  $\mu$ .: Nicetas, Vit. Ignatii apud Mansi, xvi. 237.

In Cer. 631<sub>12</sub>, however, in a document of the same reign, we read ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν δύο μαγίστρων.

In several ceremonies, which probably date from the reign of Michael III, the μάγιστροι appear as an order like the patricians, and in Cer. i. 26 of the same period we meet the text εἰ μὲν κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς ποιῆσαι μαγίστρους κτλ. (p. 143).

Under Basil I Manuel & µ. is mentioned, Cont. Th. 30720.

In the Acts of the Fourth Council of Constantinople (A. d. 869–70) we meet Theodore πατρικίου καὶ μαγίστρου (Mansi, xvi. 309), and in the same Acts we hear of οἱ μ. καὶ πατρίκιοι πάντες (ib. 409).

In the same reign we hear of τοις δυσί της πολιτείας μαγίστροις, Cont. Th. 347<sub>6</sub> (οι λαμπρότατοι μ. 347<sub>20</sub>).

During Basil's campaign against Tephrike  $\delta \mu$ , shared the responsibility for the government at Constantinople:  $\pi\epsilon\rho l \tau a\xi$ .  $503_9$ , and here

it is said that, in the case of such imperial absences, it was the custom of old  $(\tau \delta \pi a \lambda a \iota \delta v)$  for the emperor  $\pi a \rho \epsilon \hat{a} v \tau \hat{\eta} v \epsilon a v \tau \hat{o} \hat{a} \rho \chi \hat{\eta} s \epsilon \pi \iota \kappa \rho \hat{a} \tau \epsilon \iota a v \kappa a \iota \tau \hat{\phi} \epsilon \pi \hat{a} \rho \chi \hat{\phi}$  (of the city)  $\tau \hat{\eta} v \tau \hat{\eta} s \pi o \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon \iota a s \kappa a \iota \tau \hat{o} \kappa o \iota v \hat{o} [\tau \hat{\eta} v] \delta \iota o \iota \kappa \eta \sigma \iota v$ .

At the beginning of the reign of Leo VI Stephen (nephew-in-law of Theodora) was a  $\mu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \iota \sigma \tau \rho o s$  (Cont. Th. 354<sub>18</sub>), and Stylianos was created  $\mu$ , and Logothete of the Course: ib, 354<sub>9</sub>.

In the same reign, while Stylianos was in power, Katakalon, who became Domestic of the Schools, was a  $\mu$ .: Cont. Th.  $359_{23}$ ; and at the same period the  $\mu$ . Leo Theodatakes was still alive: ib.  $361_{11}$ .

In the Vita Euthymii (3<sub>6</sub>) Stylianos is designated as  $\pi\rho\omega\tau o\mu\acute{a}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho os$ . A number of the Novellae of Leo VI (1, 18, &c.) are addressed Στυλιαν $\mathring{\varphi}$  τ $\mathring{\varphi}$  περιφανεστάτ $\mathring{\varphi}$  (or  $\mathring{v}$ περφυεστάτ $\mathring{\varphi}$ ) μαγίστρ $\mathring{\varphi}$  τ $\mathring{\omega}$ ν  $\mathring{v}$ θείων  $\mathring{v}$ θφικίων.

A seal of Stylianos has been preserved (Sig. 533): Στυλιαν( $\hat{\varphi}$ ) μαγ(ίστρ $\varphi$ ) ἀν(θυπάτ $\varphi$ ) πατρ(ικί $\varphi$ ) β(ασιλικ $\hat{\varphi}$ ) (πρωτο)σπ(αθαρί $\varphi$ ) καὶ λογ(οθέτ $\eta$ ) τοῦ δρόμ(ου). Clearly he was not yet Basileopator, so the date of the seal can be fixed to A. D. 886–8.

From this evidence we may infer that at some time in the eighth century the title  $\mu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\sigma$ s was first conferred on eminent patricians for life, but involving certain duties. Not more than two bore this title at the same time. One of these was the leading member of the Senate; he was designated as protomagistros, or  $\delta$   $\mu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\sigma$ ; the was the  $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\dot{\gamma}$   $\tau\sigma\hat{\nu}$   $\sigma\epsilon\kappa\rho\dot{\epsilon}\tau\sigma\nu$ ; and he shared with the Praepositus and the Prefect the cares of government during imperial absences. Although he descends from the mag. off., his position is higher, as well as less onerous, and corresponds rather to that of a curopalates. The  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\sigma\mu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\sigma$ s is also mentioned in Philotheos,  $781_{11}$ .

There is another piece of evidence which may tell in favour of the conclusion that there was a period in which the magistri were two in number. The repetition  $\delta$   $\mu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \iota \sigma \tau \rho o s$ ,  $\delta$   $\mu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \iota \sigma \tau \rho o s$  in the text of Philotheos,  $727_2$ , would be explained if we may assume that it was taken from an older klêtorologion compiled at a time when there were two magistri.

Two seals published by Schlumberger call for notice. One, of Isaac, πατρ]ίκιον καὶ μάγιστρον, he ascribes to sixth-seventh century (Sig. 563); the other of John, πατρικίφ καὶ μαγίσ]τρφ, to eighth-ninth century. It seems probable that both seals date from the period when μ. still designated an office and not an order of rank, and that Isaac was simply magister officiorum. John, if his seal is as late as Schlumberger thinks—not earlier I suppose than the middle of the eighth century—belongs to the period when there were only two magistri, and when the dignity had not yet been made an order of rank like the patriciate.

To sum up. Before the end of the reign of Leo III the office of magister officiorum had been transformed; his special functions had, been transferred to the Logothete of the Course, and other ministers; and he was elevated to the position of head of the Senate and the ministerial world, representative of the emperor in his absence, &c. The dignity was conferred διὰ βραβείου, for life. He was called simply  $\delta$  μάγιστρος (as the  $\mu$ . τῶν θείων  $\delta$ φφ. is usually termed by Theophanes). Perhaps at the same time, or perhaps soon afterwards, a second μάγιστρος was instituted, and the first was distinguished from him as δ πρωτομάγιστρος. This innovation was introduced before A. p. 768. I conjecture that the institution of the second  $\mu$ , is to be connected with the imperial absences from the city. On such occasions the presence of the  $\mu$ . in Constantinople was necessary, but the emperor may have found it inconvenient not to have a  $\mu$ . in his moving court. (Observe that in the  $\pi \epsilon \rho \ell$   $\tau \alpha \xi$ , the emperor is accompanied by μάγιστροι, 485<sub>16</sub>.) This second μ. would be on such occasions μ. ἐκ  $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\omega\pi\sigma\nu$ —the expression which Theophanes uses of the  $\mu$ . of Artavasdos (415<sub>3</sub>). In the reign, probably, of Michael III, the dignity of  $\mu$ . began to be conferred on more than two; and thus the  $\mu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\sigma\iota$  came to form a small order of rank. Within that grade the two  $\mu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\sigma\iota$  ( $\tau\hat{\eta}s$   $\pi\sigma\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\dot{\iota}as$ ) continued to function; and in the case of Stylianos Leo VI revived the original title  $\mu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\sigmas$   $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\dot{\sigma}\phi\phi\iota\kappa\dot{\iota}\omega\nu$ . In the middle of the tenth century, if we can trust Liutprand (Antapodosis, vi. 10)\(^1\)—I am not quite confident that we can—there were as many as twenty-four magistri.

# (15) ζωστή πατρικία.

We have no material for determining the date of the origin of this title. The earliest  $\zeta\omega\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}$   $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\kappa\iota a$ , of whom we hear on good authority, is Theoktiste, the mother of the Empress Theodora (Cont. Th. 90<sub>1</sub>). Antonina, according to the author of the  $\Pi \dot{a}\tau\rho\iota a$  (ed. Preger, p. 254), was  $\zeta\omega\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}$  of Theodora (sixth century); but there does not seem to be any contemporary confirmation of this statement. The  $\zeta\omega\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}$   $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\kappa\iota a$  was the only lady who was  $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\kappa\iota a$  in her own right, and the title might be translated, 'mistress of the robes.' The elaborate ceremony for conferring the dignity is described in Cer. i. 50: it probably dates from the ninth century, and possibly from the joint reigns of Michael II and Theophilus, when, we may suppose, Theoktiste was invested.

## (16) κουροπαλάτης.

In the early part of the fifth century curapalati was the title of officials of spectabilis rank, who were subordinate to the Castrensis, and whose duties seem to have concerned the material condition of the imperial palace. See Not. Dig., Or. 17. 5; C. Th. xi. 18. 1 (probably A. D. 412, see ed. Mommsen). At the court of Theodoric we find a curapalati of spectabilis rank, but apparently not in the officium of a castrensis (there seems to have been no castrensis at Ravenna): Cass., Var. 7. 5. There is some reason for supposing that in the course of the fifth century at Constantinople a new curapalati was instituted, independent of the castrensis, and at least equal in importance to him. For in the reign of Justin I the grand-daughter of a certain Nomos (or Oninos), a patrician, married the king of the Lazi, and Nomos is described as ἀπὸ κουροπαλατῶν. It

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Pasch. 613, Theoph. 168,; cp. John Mal. 413.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Four magistri are mentioned under Constantine VII in Cont. Th. 443. Some of them were stratêgoi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ζωστή must mean cingulo donata (Combefis, and Reiske, ii. 166), not ornatrix as Ducange thought. One seal of a ζωστή (Maria Melissene), of the Commenian epoch, is published by Schlumberger, Sig. 607; she is simply  $\zeta$ ., not  $\zeta$ .  $\pi$ .

is not at all probable that an ordinary curapalati would have been created a patrician unless he had risen to some higher office, and in that case he would have been designated by that higher office. I infer that in the time of Anastasius, at latest, there existed a high official, entitled Curapalati, to be distinguished from the earlier subordinate curapalati (who was one of several). If this conclusion is right we can the more easily understand the action of Justinian, who, towards the end of his reign, exalted the dignity and gave it a new significance by conferring the title upon his nephew Justin. The title was taken to mean that Justin was marked out to be the successor to the throne, and the dignity evidently did not involve any of the functions connoted by the name. Through jealousy, perhaps, Justinian did not care to create his nephew a Caesar, but  $\kappa o \nu \rho o \pi a \lambda \acute{a} \tau \eta s$  was interpreted as equivalent. This is expressly said by Corippus (in laud. Just. i. 134 sqq.):

par extans curis, solo diademate dispar, ordine pro rerum vocitatus curapalati, dispositu nam Caesar eras.

After this, and till the tenth century, the title curapalati, κουροπαλάτης, was only bestowed on a relative of the emperor: and the patriarch Nicephorus ( $7_3$ ) describes the post as  $\tau \hat{\eta} \nu \mu \epsilon \tau \hat{\alpha} \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \hat{\epsilon} a \pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau \eta \nu \hat{\alpha} \rho \chi \hat{\eta} \nu$  (i. e. of course, when there was no Caesar). From the nature of the case it was, like Caesar, only occasionally conferred. The following is a list of the κουροπαλάται till A.D. 900:—

Emperor.	Kuropalates.
Justinian I	Justin (nephew): Corippus, loc. cit.,
	Evagrius, 5, 1.
Maurice	Peter (brother): Chron. Pasch. 694 <sub>6</sub> .
Phocas	Domentziolos (nephew): Theoph. 292 <sub>25</sub> .
Heraclius	Theodore (brother): Niceph. 7 <sub>3</sub> .
Leo III	Artavasdos (son-in-law): Theoph. 395 <sub>12</sub> .2
Nicephorus I	Michael (son-in-law): Theoph. 4929.
Michael III	Bardas (uncle): Cont. Th. 176 <sub>3</sub> .

Leo VI conferred the title on the Iberian king Adranases (De adm. imp. 199); it had been more than once in earlier times bestowed on Iberian princes. In the tenth century Nicephorus II created his brother Leo a κουροπάλατης; in the eleventh the title was no

<sup>1</sup> May the idea of this dignity have been derived from Persia? Cp. Theoph. Sim. 3 18 12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A seal of Artavasdos is extant, Sig. 249 'Αρτανάσδη πατρ[ικίω] κουρ[οπαλάτη] καὶ κόμ[ιτι] τοῦ ἐϵοφ[υλάκτου] β[ασιλικοῦ ὀψικίου].

longer confined to relatives of the Emperor (cp. the seals in Schlumberger, Sig. 490 sqq.).

A ceremony for the creation of a kuropalates is described in Cer.i. 45, p. 229 sqq. When this description was first written down there were two emperors, one of whom was still a boy ( $\delta \mu \iota \kappa \rho \delta s$ ). It may be conjectured that it refers to the creation of Michael by Nicephorus I and Stauracius. At the end of the chapter there is a notice to the effect that a kuropalates can be created  $\epsilon \nu \tau \hat{\varphi} i \delta \iota \varphi$  by the Basileus, without a public ceremony. I conjecture that Bardas was thus invested, and that-this additional notice dates from the reign of Michael III.

## (17) νωβελήσιμος.

In the third century nobilissimus was the standing epithet of the title Caesar which the emperors conferred on natural or adopted sons (Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii.3 1141 and note). In the fourth century we find Jovian creating his child-son Valerian a νωβελίσιμος, but not Caesar; the epithet becomes an independent title (Philostorgius 8. 8). In the fifth century Constantine, the 'tyrant' of Britain and Gaul in the reign of Honorius, creates his eldest son, Constans, Caesar, and his second, Julian, νωβελίσσιμος (Olympiodorus, fr. 12). Honorius created his child-nephew, Valentinian, nobilissimus (ib. 34), and afterwards V. was invested as Caesar at Thessalonica before he was crowned Augustus at Ravenna (ib. 46). Nobilissimus is thus a title lower than Caesar, but confined to the emperor's family. Justinian 1 introduced the new title of kuropalates to do duty for nobilissimus or Caesar, but in the eighth century Constantine V revived the dignity of νωβελήσιμος. In A.D. 768 he created his second and third sons Caesars, and his fourth νοβελίσιμος (Theoph. 444): afterwards also his fifth son (ib. 450<sub>o</sub>): and the sixth received the same dignity from Leo IV (ib.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He seems himself to have borne the title under his uncle; cp. Marcellinu sub A.D. 527. Women sometimes received the dignity, e.g. Galla Placida, C. 1. L. 15, 7153.

or χλαμύς with the tunic which was χρυσόθετος, and he erroneously supposed that the νωβελήσιμος was crowned like the Caesar.

#### (18) Καΐσαρ.

For the Caesar title, as a promise of succession under the Principate, see Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii. 1140. After Justinian's reign we find it conferred on Tiberius by Justin II; on Germanus and Maurice by Tiberius II; on Constantine junior by Heraclius; on David and Marinus by Heraclius; on Christophorus and Nicephorus by Constantine V; on Alexios Musele by Theophilus; on Bardas by Michael III. The only case I know (later than the third century) of the elevation to this rank of one who was not a near relative (by birth, adoption, or marriage) of the emperor is that of Patricius, son of Aspar, who was created Caesar by Leo I.

From Theodosius I it was the invariable practice of the emperor, if he had a son, to create him a colleague (Basileus and Augustus). Hence the title Caesar was rarely conferred. Justin II and Tiberius II conferred it to mark out their successors, but after Maurice it was only conferred on persons who might, in certain events, succeed. Heraclius and Constantine V bestowed it on younger sons; Theophilus on a son-in-law; Michael III, who was childless, on an uncle.

The ceremony which accompanied the elevation of the sons of Constantine V is described in Cer. i. 43.

# C. Offices (αἱ διὰ λόγου ἀξίαι).

The administrative officials are grouped by Philotheos in seven classes: I. στρατηγοί, II. δομέστικοι, III. κριταί, IV. σεκρετικοί, V. δημοκράται, VI. στρατάρχαι, VII. various (ἀξίαι είδικαί); and it will be convenient to take them in his order.

The use of the term  $\delta\phi\phi\iota\kappa\iota\dot{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omega\iota$ , which frequently occurs in his pages, has not, so far as I know, been precisely explained. But he supplies the material for determining its denotation. In early times officiales seems to have been applied only to the members of the officium of a minister, but not to the minister himself. The Master of Offices, or the Count of the Sacred Largesses, would not have been called an officialis. In the time of Philotheos, it was applied to the ministers as well as to their subordinates. And it was applied to all the functionaries holding office or command, with the exception of the  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omega\iota$ . This can be proved from the following passages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Speaking of the posts in the staffs and bureaux of the high officials, Philotheos (716<sub>8</sub>) says that these dignities καὶ αὐτὰ ὀφφίκια ὀνομάζονται.

(1) The author expressly states that the Domestici (notwithstanding their military character) were counted as δφφικιάλιοι (715<sub>12</sub>). (2) In 742<sub>18</sub>, 742<sub>2</sub>, 3 the στρατ. and δφφ. are distinguished: 6 στρατ., 2 δφφ. Cp. also 767<sub>29</sub>. (3) Equally clearly they are contrasted in 766<sub>17</sub> and 767<sub>1-3</sub>. (4) So too in 710<sub>10</sub>. In 784<sub>15</sub> and 767<sub>9</sub> σεκρετικοὶ δφφικιάλιοι are mentioned, meaning all those comprised in class IV.

While δφφίκιον in later documents is more often used in our sense of office, than in its earlier meaning of the whole staff of subordinate officials, the term τάξις is employed for the staffs of the Stratêgoi, Domestics, Kritai, &c., and σέκρετον for the officials of class IV.<sup>2</sup> For this distinction cp. Cer. 6<sub>8</sub>, 9 πάσαις ταῖς τάξεσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς σεκρέτοις.<sup>3</sup> On σέκρετον see below in section IV on σεκρετικοί, p. 83.

The high officials themselves are thus divided into seven classes, but their subordinates are grouped in three classes (716<sub>9</sub>): A. ταγματικοί, B. θεματικοί, C. συγκλητικοί. Obviously A comprises the subordinate δφφίκια of the Domestics (class II), and B those of the στρατηγοί

(class I); it follows that the subordinate officials of classes III-VII were all designated as συγκλητικοί.

The use of συγκλητικοί, which constantly occurs in Philotheos and the Ceremonies of Constantine, is confusing, and demands some observations. We must first of all distinguish the Synklêtos in the narrow sense of the Council of high officials who assisted the Emperor in business of state from the whole body of συγκλητικοί, or persons of senatorial rank, who had the right of being received at court, and were expected to take part in the ceremonies and processions.<sup>4</sup> But there are other variations in its meaning. It seems sometimes to be

<sup>1</sup> In 784<sub>11</sub>, however, στρατηγοί are loosely included under ὀφφ.

<sup>2</sup> But  $\sigma \epsilon \kappa \rho \epsilon \tau o \nu$  was doubtless also commonly used of the bureaux of subordinate officials belonging to the other classes.

3 A. Vogt, in his Basile Ier, p. 75, gives προέλευσις as the term for suite or bureau. Its ordinary meaning is ceremonial procession (cp. προέρχεσθαι), and it is used for the suite of a stratêgos (comitatus, cp. the προελευσιμαῖοι οf κριταί in Const. Porph. Nov. 9, p. 2681), but not for a bureau. The passage in Phil. 7167 is difficult: εἴδη ἀξιωμάτων διάφορα, κατὰ ἀναλογίαν καὶ τάξιν καὶ τῆς ἐκάστου προελεύσεως (the text seems doubtful: I think we must read καὶ τῆς τάξεως). The meaning seems to be that these subordinate offices differ according to the kind of staff to which each belongs. τάξις is used generally (including the σέκρετα), προέλευσις especially of the military staffs. See above, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> It seems probable that in such passages as Cer. 87<sub>3</sub> οί πατρίκιοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐκεῖσε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ σύγκλητος, or 150<sub>18</sub> οί πατρίκιοι καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος, the senate in its narrower sense is meant; the contexts suggest that only officials of very high rank are contemplated. For the two senses of σύγκλητος cp. Ellissen, Der

Senat im oströmischen Reiche, 27 sqq. (1881).

opposed to βασιλικοί,¹ yet in its application to the officials of classes III–VII (see above), it embraces many officials who were distinctly βασιλικοί. The fact is that persons holding ἀξίαι διὰ βραβείων βασιλικαί might be συγκλητικοί, if they held offices under classes III–VII, and we are thus able to explain the passage in Cer. 61<sub>22</sub> δισυπάτους, σπαθαρίους συγκλητικούς, καὶ ὑπάτους, where I remove the comma which appears in the Bonn edition after σπαθαρίους; only those spathars, who are also συγκλητικοί by virtue of an ὀφφίκιου, are designated. The eunuch officials are not described as Synklêtic, but some of them certainly were.²

It appears that in its widest sense συγκλητικοί included (1) high dignitaries, magistri and patricians,<sup>3</sup> whether they held office or not; (2) all the high officials who obtained their office διὰ λόγου (except perhaps some of the eunuchs), and including Stratêgoi <sup>4</sup> and Domestics; (3) the officials subordinate to the ministers of classes III–VII; (4) the Synklêtic dignitaries διὰ βραβείων, namely disypatoi, hypatoi, &c.; and possibly (5) an obscure class who had no such dignities (but see below VII (6) under δ ἐπὶ τῆs καταστάσεωs). The term was also used in a restricted sense to designate the fourth (or fifth) of these categories.

In this connexion must be noticed a phrase which often occurs in the latter part of Philotheos, οἱ ὑπὸ καμπάγιον (those who wear the kampagion, some kind of footgear, 5 cp. Ducange s. v.). Compare:—

- (1) 742<sub>18</sub> την ύπο καμπάγιν σύγκλητον πᾶσαν, οἶον ἀσηκρήτας κτλ. (various members of the Sekretic officia) οἶον ἀπό τε σπαθαροκανδιδάτων καὶ κατώτερω, ὑπάτων, δισυπάτων, and some of the tagmatic officials.
- (2) 752, τοὺς ὑπὸ κ. συγκλητικοὺς ἄπαντας, οἶον ἀσηκρήτας κτλ. (various officials under classes III-VII, and also some of the tagmatic officials).
- (3)  $757_{19}$  φίλους τοὺς ὑπὸ κ. ἄπαντας, ἄρχοντας τῆς συγκλήτου, ἀπό τε μαγίστρων, ἀνθυπάτων, πατρικίων, ὀφφικιαλίων, βασιλικῶν πρωτοσπαθαρίων, ἀσηκρητῶν κτλ. (including some tagmatic officials).
- (4)  $759_9$  φίλους ἐκ τῶν συγκλητικῶν, τοὺς ὑπὸ κ. πάντας, οἶον μαγίστρους, ἀνθυπάτους, πραιποσίτους, πατρικίους, ὀφφικιαλίους, βασ. πρωτοσπαθαρίους, συγκλητικούς, τὸν πρωτοασήκρητις κτλ. (including tagmatics).
  - (5)  $769_{19}$   $\mathring{a}\pi\mathring{o}$  τ $\mathring{\eta}$ ς τ $\mathring{a}$ ξεως τ $\mathring{\omega}$ ν μαγίστρων, πατρικίων καὶ λοιπ $\mathring{\omega}$ ν σ $\mathring{v}$ ν

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Cer. 516<sub>1</sub>; 3<sub>23</sub>-4<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> The Praepositus, e.g. was a member of the Senate. Cp. Mansi, xvi. 392 (A.D. 869) ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος πραιπόσιτος ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου. Ib. 329 Gregory, a Spatharocubicularius, is described as ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου.

<sup>3</sup> Also praepositi, cp. Phil. 741,7.

4 Cp. ib. the στρατ. belong to the βασιλική σύγκλητος.

<sup>5</sup> For the  $\kappa a \mu \pi$ , as ceremonial footgear cp. John Mal. 322<sub>11</sub> (A.D. 330).

τῷ δομεστίκῳ τῶν σχολῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῶν σπαθαροκανδιδάτων μέχρι τῆς τάξεως τῶν στρατώρων—τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ καμπάγιν πάντας μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξημάτων—τοὺς δὲ πρωτοσπαθαρίους μετὰ σπεκίων—τοὺς δὲ βασιλικοὺς μετὰ τῶν σκαραμαγγίων καὶ μόνον.

- (6) 77415.
- (7) 777 22 ἀπὸ τῶν σεκρετικῶν τῶν ὑπὸ καμπάγιν πάντων.
- (8) 779<sub>10</sub> τῶν μαγ., ἀνθ., πατρ., ὀφφικιαλίων, πρωτοσπ. καὶ λοιπῶν συγκλητικῶν τῶν ὑπὸ καμπάγιν ὄντων.
- (9)  $780_2$  οι μèν μαγ., πραιπ., πατρ. δφφικιάλιοι καὶ οι ὑπὸ καμπάγιν πάντες—οι δὲ λοιποὶ βασιλικοί.
- (10) 7814 ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῶν μαγ., πραιπ., ἀνθ., πατρ., ὀφφικιαλίων, πλην τῶν εὐνούχων—καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῆς ὑπὸ καμπάγιν συγκλήτου, καὶ τῶν ταγματικῶν ἀλλαξιμάτων.

Of these passages, 3, 4, and 5 make it clear that the kampagion was worn by the highest officials. 1 and 2 refer only to subordinates, and in 10 the high dignitaries are contrasted with  $\dot{\eta}$   $\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\delta}$   $\kappa a\mu\pi\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\nu$   $\sigma\dot{\nu}\gamma\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\sigma$ s. There is no real contradiction in this; in 8 and 9 the magistri, &c., are specially singled out of the kampagion category, and the rest are grouped together as oi  $\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\delta}$   $\kappa a\mu\pi\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\nu$ ? What dignitaries and officials did not belong to oi  $\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\delta}$   $\kappa a\mu\pi\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\nu$ ? First of all, probably the eunuchs, except patricians and praepositi (cp. 4 and 9). Secondly, the Stratêgoi and their staffs, who are never mentioned in these passages. Thirdly, protospatharioi, &c., who were not Synklêtic by virtue of office. Fourthly, some lower subordinates (cp. 7), such as  $\delta\rho \rho\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}s$  (Phil.  $752_{12}$ ). It is remarkable that tagmatic officers, subordinates of the Domestics, are enumerated among oi  $\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\delta}$   $\kappa$ .  $\sigma\nu\gamma\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\iota\kappaoi$  (cp. 1–4). Is this loose language?

# Ι. στρατηγοί.

## (1) to (26). Stratêgoi.

The origin of the themes, and their history up to the ninth century, has been so fully treated by Gelzer <sup>1</sup> that I need only call attention to a few general points before considering the staff of the stratêgos.

The precedence of the Eastern over the Western themes is fundamental. This order of rank is not explained by the precedence of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gelzer's conclusions, for the ninth century, have indeed to be supplemented by the Arabic evidence produced by Brooks (see Bibliography) and by the Taktikon Uspenski.

Prefecture of the East over the Prefecture of Illyricum, as many of the provinces in the latter had a higher rank than the provinces of the former. It is due to the fact that the Illyric provinces were almost a lost position in the seventh century, and that the strength of the Empire lay entirely in Asia Minor with Thrace at the time when the theme system was developed and normalized under Leo III. The naval circumscriptions, which were equally important when that emperor came to the throne, and which may truly be said to have saved the Empire under the Heraclian dynasty, were included by him among the Western themes, because recent experience had shown that they might prove a dangerous element of opposition, and his own power was based on the Asiatic armies.1 On the other hand, when at a later time Macedonia became a theme, it was included in the Eastern class (while Thessalonica and Strymon remained in the Western). The Stratêgoi of the Eastern themes all received a fixed salary from the treasury, whereas those of the Western raised their pay in their own provinces; but the naval themes were for this purpose included in the Eastern class.2 The number of twenty-five stratêgiai corresponds of course only to the situation at the moment when this particular list was drawn up, in the early years of Leo VI. Before the end of his reign there was a new stratêgia of Mesopotamia, and the Kleisurarchies of Sebasteia, Lykandos, Seleukeia, and Leontopolis had been raised to the rank of themes.3

The Stratêgos of the Anatolic theme 4 holds the highest rank among the stratêgoi, and his is the highest office of those not confined to eunuchs, with the exception of those of Basileopator and Rector and the ecclesiastical post of Synkellos. At a court reception, only the magistri, and these three dignitaries, the Praepositus (if a patrician), and eunuchs of patrician rank, preceded the Stratêgos of the Anatolics, provided he was a patrician. But so long as he was a patrician, although not an anthypatos, he sat among the anthypatoi. If he was

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Gelzer, 34-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The salaries of the Eastern Stratêgoi were graded as follows: class 1, Anatolic, Armeniac, Thrakesian, 40 litrai (about £1752); class 2, Opsikian, Bukellarian, Macedonian, 30 l. (about £1314); class 3, Cappadocian, Charsian, Paphlagonian, Thracian, Kolonean, 20 l. (about £876), and to this class must be added the Chaldian strat., who received only 10 l., in consideration of the income he derived from custom-dues, and the Mesopotamian, who derived all his pay from customs. The naval themes formed a class 4, Kibyrrhaeot, Samian, and Aegean, 10 l. (about £438); and, class 5, the Kleisurarchs (Lykandos, &c.) received 5 l. (about £219). See the salaries as paid under Leo VI in Cer. 696-7.

<sup>3</sup> Cer. ii. 50.

It is called τὸ α' θέμα in Gen. 5<sub>17</sub>.

only a protospatharios, he was first in that order, unless the Praepositus happened to be also a protospatharios. At one time the Sakellarios seems to have been superior in rank to the Stratêgos Anat.; this question will be considered below in connexion with the Sakellarios. But the exalted position of the Strat. Anat. in the imperial service corresponds to what, as I pointed out long ago, was the origin of the post; he took the place of the magister militum per Orientem. Next to him in rank, among the officials, was the Domesticus Scholarum, who in the later Empire corresponds most nearly to the old magister militum in praesenti (though he does not descend from him); and after the Domesticus comes the Stratêgos of the Armeniac theme, who represents the magister militum per Armeniam, instituted by Justinian.

The officium of a stratêgos is as follows:

- Turmarchae, (2) merarches, (3) comes τῆς κόρτης, (4) chartularius,
   domesticus, (6) drungarii bandorum, (7) comites bandorum, (8) centarchus spathariorum, (9) comes τῆς ἐταιρείας, (10) protocancellarius,
   protomandator (and in the case of the maritime themes, (12) protocarabi, (13) centarchi).
- (1, 2) The turmarchs commanded the τουρμαι, or divisions of the military θέμα or corps, and governed the turms or districts of the geographical theme. The military unit was the βάνδον, of which the commander was entitled (7) comes. According to Leo, Tact. iv. 42, the βάνδα were grouped in higher units, called μοίραι οr δρούγγοι, and these regiments were commanded by μοιράρχαι or δρουγγάριοι. The turm or brigade consisted of three such μοίραι, ib. 9. The turm was also called μέρος, and the τουρμάρχης a μεράρχης. There were three turmarchs under the strategos.2 This account differs from that of Ibn Khurdâdhbah, who wrote his description of the administrative organization of the Roman Empire, c. A.D. 840-5 (ed. De Goeje, see Bibliography). According to him, there were two turmarchs under the command of the strategos of one of the larger themes. Under the turmarch were five drungarioi, and under the drungarios five comites.3 The discrepancy arises from the fact that the number of turms and turmarchs differed in the different themes. We have tenth-century documents (A.D. 935 and 949) showing that there were three turms in the Thracesian theme.4 Ibn Khurdâdhbah generalized

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1b. 8, 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gelzer has tabulated the subdivision, pp. 116, 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cer.  $663_3$  and  $666_{17}$ . The text of the former passage requires correction. It stands ὁ τουρμάρχης τῶν Θεοδοσιακῶν, οἱ τουρμάρχαι τῶν βικτόρων, οἱ τουρμάρχαι τῆς παραλίου. Read ὁ τουρμάρχης for the plural in both cases (cp.  $663_{20}$  ὁ τ. τῶν βικτόρων).

from one theme. We can prove this by the fact that he represents the numbers of troops in the (larger) themes as uniform—10,000 men.¹ Now we know from another Arabic writer, Kudâma (who copied Ibn Khurdâdhbah, but added new facts), that the number of the troops in the various themes both larger and smaller varied considerably.

Leo VI speaks of μεράρχηs as an (older) equivalent of τουρμάρχηs (Tact. iv. 8, 9). In Philotheos they are distinguished, and other texts prove that μεράρχαι is not a gloss on τουρμάρχαι. In the official description of the troops sent to Italy in A. D. 935 by Romanus I,  $δμεριάρχηs^2$  of the theme of Charpezikion, and δμεριάρχηs of the Thracesian, are mentioned as well as the turmarchs. Moreover, we find δμεράρχηs in the treatise περl ταξειδίων. These passages entitle us to correct the text of Philotheos, and read μεράρχηs for μεριάρχαι.

These divisions of the army  $\tau \circ \hat{v} \rho \mu a\iota$ ,  $\mu \circ \hat{\rho} \rho a\iota$ ,  $\beta \delta a v \delta a$  correspond to the sixth-century divisions,  $\mu \acute{e} \rho \eta$ ,  $\mu \circ \hat{\rho} \rho a\iota$ ,  $\tau \acute{a} \gamma \mu a \tau a$ . Turmarchs replace merarchs, the drungarioi correspond to the moerarchs (see below), and the  $\kappa \acute{o} \mu \eta \tau \epsilon s$  (see below) to the  $\tilde{a} \rho \chi o v \tau \epsilon s$  (also called  $\kappa \acute{o} \mu \eta \tau \epsilon s$ ). See (Maurice) Strat. passim, and Aussaresses, L'armée byzantine, 19 sqq. Who then is the later merarch? I suggest that in most themes there were two geographical turms in the ninth century and two turmarchs, while the army consisted (as in the sixth century) of three brigades, and that the third brigade was under a commander who bore the old title  $\mu \epsilon \rho \acute{a} \rho \chi \eta s$  and had no geographical district.

(6, 7) We must also correct δρουγγάριος τῶν βάνδων to δρουγγάριοι τ. β. The drungarios, as we have seen, was the commander of a  $\mu ο i ρ a$ , and there were probably three  $\mu ο i ρ a$  in each turm. With δρουγγάριος, τῶν βάνδων has a collective sense—the (ten) banda which compose his  $\mu ο i ρ a$ ; with  $\kappa ό \mu η \tau \epsilon s$  (δ $\mu ο i ω s$  =  $\tau ω v$  βάνδων) it is distributive, each comes commands a βάνδον. For the drungarioi compare Cer. 666<sub>19</sub> (οἱ δρ. καὶ κόμητες), 667<sub>10</sub>, 662<sub>15</sub>, 21. They are also called

<sup>1</sup> From the Armeniac, if Gelzer is right in his probable correction of Kudâma

(p. 98).

 $^3$  Cor.  $662_{19}$ ,  $663_4$ , and  $663_{18}$  (ἀπὸ τοῦ βάνδου τοῦ μεράρχου, which is obscure).— In the theme of Charpezikion we find great and minor turmarchs distinguished,  $662_{18}$ ,  $_{20}$ ,  $667_{8}$ ,  $_{9}$ ,  $669_{6}$ ,  $_{8}$ .

4 Cer. 48219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The MS. of Cer. varies between μεριάρχης and the right form μεράρχης (663<sub>18</sub>). Compare the seal published by Schlumberger (Sig. 201) σφραγὶς μερεάρχ(ου) τῆς Κνώσσ(ου) Κωνσταντίνου. This belongs to the later period after the reconquest of Crete by Nicephorus II. In Genesios we meet the merarch of the Charsian theme in A. D. 863 (97<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This was not apprehended by Kulakovski, *Drung i drungarii*. To this article I may refer for the history of the terms drungos and drungarios.

δρουγγαροκόμητες, 482<sub>19</sub>, 663<sub>6</sub>. In Takt. Uspenski, 129, δ δρουγγάριος τῶν θεμάτων must be corrected οἱ δρουγγάριοι τ. θ.

- (3) On the duties of the comes  $\tau \hat{\eta} s \kappa \delta \rho \tau \eta s$  (count of the tent) the chief source is the treatise περί των βασιλικών ταξειδίων. When the emperor leads a military expedition, the comites της κόρτης of the various themes attend the emperor to pitch the imperial tent, along with the cortinarii who are under their command, and accompany the Drungarios of the Watch in his nightly circuit round the camp. They supply posthorses to the Drungarios of the Watch for imperial business, Cer. 489-90. They might also be sent on special missions. For instance, the strategos of the Anatolic theme sent his comes  $\tau \hat{\eta}s$ κόρτης to examine Theodore of Studion in prison at Smyrna (A.D. 819, Theod. Stud., Epist. ii. 38, p. 1233, ed. Migne). In Leo, Tact. iv. 30, the comes της κόρτης is described as a member of the general's staff (προέλευσις). These officials might be spatharioi, see Philotheos, 735, where the text must be corrected ὁ σπαθάριος καὶ κόμης τῆς κόρτης τῶν 'Ανατολικών. The Theophylactus, count of the tent in the theme of Chaldia, whose name is preserved on a seal in Schlumberger's collection (Sig. 289, 331), was a candidatus.2 The emperor sometimes had a comes της κόρτης of his own; e.g. Michael the Amorian filled the post for Nicephorus I (Genes. 10,3, Cont. Th. 9, 12).3 The seal of a κ. της κόρτης (ninth-tenth century) is published by Schlumberger, Mél. 245.
- (5) The δομέστικοs is mentioned as a member of the general's staff in Leo, Tact. iv. 30. Compare Cer. 482<sub>20</sub>, 662<sub>20</sub>, and 663<sub>5</sub> (δ δομέστικος τοῦ θέματος); Takt. Usp. 128. These officers have the rank of strator in Phil. 737<sub>1</sub>. See also Alexius Comnenus, Nov. 30, p. 374, ed. Zach.
- (8) The κένταρχος τῶν σπαθαρίων must be distinguished from the κένταρχοι mentioned in Leo, Tact. iv. 11, who commanded each 100

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  κόρτη was the tent, especially of the emperor, but also of the stratêgos. See Ducange, s. v. Cp. Cont. Th. 236<sub>2</sub>; George Mon. (Bonn) 830<sub>18</sub> = Pseudo-Simeon, 678<sub>21</sub>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The legend is θεοτόκε βοήθει τῶ σῶ δούλω + Θεοφιλάκτω β(ασιλικῷ) Κανδ(ιδάτῳ) καὶ κόμ(ητι) τῆς κόρτ(ης) Χαλδ(ίας). The seal belongs to the ninth century. Chaldia seems to have become a separate government towards the end of the eighth century (Gelzer, 95–6), and it was raised to the rank of a stratêgia before the middle of the ninth century. Gelzer thought that it was a κλεισοῦρα till the reign of Leo VI. But the Taktikon Uspenski mentions ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Χαλδίας (p. 113) and also ὁ δοὺξ Χαλδίας (p. 119). We may infer that it had been at first a Ducatus and had been recently made a στρατηγία; ὁ δοὺξ Χ. was taken over from an older list.

<sup>3</sup> In Alexius Comnenus, Nov. 30, p. 374 (foot of page) κομήτων . . . δομεστίκων τῶν θεμάτων, we should, I conjecture, read κομήτων τῆς κόρτης.

men, and were subject to the comes.1 This distinction seems to correspond to the distinction in Phil. 738, 20 between the κένταρχοι των στρατηγών των θεματικών and the κένταρχος των βάνδων. Are we to identify the  $\kappa \acute{\epsilon} \nu \tau a \rho \chi o s \tau \acute{\omega} \nu \sigma \pi$ , with the  $\pi \rho \omega \tau o \kappa \acute{\epsilon} \nu \tau a \rho \chi o s$  who is recorded on seals (Schlumberger, Sig. 166 Σησηνήω πρωτωκ(εν)τάρ(χω) 'Ελ(λ)άδ(os) 357 Στρατιγ(ω)  $\bar{a}$ κενταρκ(ω))? But there were more than one πρωτοκένταρχος in a theme. Six are mentioned in the staff of the general of the Thrakesians (Cer. 663<sub>10</sub>).<sup>2</sup> It seems possible that κένταρχος in the text of Phil. is an error for κένταρχοι. The spatharioi whom the centarch commanded were probably a guard attached to the immediate service of the general.3

- (9) The κόμης της έταιρείας is, I conjecture, referred to in Cer. ii. 44, p. 659, τνα αποσταλεί της εταιρείας μετά κελεύσεως πρός τὸν κατεπάνω, where perhaps τὸν κόμητα has fallen out after ἀποσταλεῖ.
- (4) The χαρτουλάριος of the theme was in the officium of the stratêgos, but his duties connected him with the department of the Logothete τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, so that he also belonged to his officium and was responsible to him. This is explained in Leo, Tact. iv. 31, where the function of the chartularius is described as προς την τοῦ στρατοῦ (MS. στρατηγοῦ) καταγραφήν τε καὶ ἀναζήτησιν (he kept the military rolls), and it is said that while he and the protonotary and the praetor were in some respects (ξυ τισιν) subject to the stratêgos, they were also directly responsible to the central government: Toùs λόγους των ίδικων αὐτων διοικήσεων πρὸς τὴν βασίλειαν ἡμων ἀφοραν ώστε δι' αὐτῶν μανθάνειν τάς τε τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν πραγμάτων καταστάσεις καὶ διοικήσεις ἀσφαλέστερον ἡγούμεθα.

From the relation of the chartularius to the Logothete τ. στρατιωτικών, and from the functions of the χαρτουλάριοι τῶν δήμων referred to in the edict of Cer. ii. 56,4 we can see that he had financial duties, and that the pay of the officers and soldiers came into his department. He might have the rank of a spatharios (Phil. 735,6) or a strator (736<sub>20</sub>). Nicephorus, chartularius of Sicily (eighth-ninth century),

<sup>2</sup> πρωτοκένταρχοι occurs in a doubtful passage in Basil II, Nov. 29 (p. 311), and in the list of the strategic officials (A.D. 1079) in Miklosich and Müller,

Acta et Diplomata, vi. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that Ibn Khurdâdhbah speaks of Kontarhīn who command each forty men and are identified by De Goeje with kentarchs (hekatontarchs), but by Gelzer (115) are explained as (pente)kontarchs, on the basis of a passage in the Acta S. Demetrii, 181 C. Leo does not mention pentekontarchs.

<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of the eighth century the strategos had also stratores, for in A. D. 718 (Theoph. 388<sub>21</sub>) we meet a δομέστικος των στρατόρων of the strat. of the Anatolic theme.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Rambaud, 204.

whose seal is preserved (Panchenko, 9. 384), was a spatharios. Drosos, chartularius of Thrace (eighth or ninth century) (Schlumberger, Sig. 122), was a candidatus. Orestes, chartularius of the theme of the Aegean Sea (tenth century), had the higher rank of a spatharocandidatus (Sig. 194).

- (10) The πρωτοκαγκελλάριος was the chief of what would in earlier times have been called a schola of cancellarii. There was such a schola under the mag. off. of the West in the fifth century (Not. Dig. Occ. ix. 5). There was probably a cancellarius in all bureaux of the first and second class; we find a cancellarius of the Prefect of the City in the time of Julian (C.I.L. 6. 1780), and one attached to the bureau of the Dux Pentapoleos in the reign of Anastasius I. His duty was to keep the public from entering the secretum of the minister,<sup>2</sup> and to carry communications between him and the general officium. He was outside the officium (see Cass. Var. xi. 6), and this may explain why he is not mentioned in the Not. Dig. When John Lydus wrote, the Praet. Praef. of the East had two cancellarii, but this may have been exceptional and temporary; the Praet. Pref. selected his cancellarii from the schola Augustalium; the post was not filled by ordinary advancement within the officium.3 Cancellarii and a protocancellarius are found in most of the officia (except in the domesticates) enumerated by Philotheos, but they occupy a low position in the matricula. There are no seals of protocancellarii. The protocancellarius of the theme is mentioned in Cer. 659,17.
- (11) Mandatores, with a πρωτομανδάτωρ at their head, occur not only in the officia of the Stratêgoi, but also in those of the Domestics, of some of the Logothetes, and others. They were properly adjutants, or bearers of commands (μανδατοφόροι). The mandatores of the Stratêgos are defined in Leo, Tact. iv. 16, as οἱ τὰ μανδάτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀξέως διακομίζοντες (cp. ib. 49). The protomandator of a theme was an official of some importance. For a seal of a protomandator of Dalmatia see Schlumberger, Sig. 206. Carbeas was protom. of the Strat. Anatol. under Michael III (Cont. Th. 166<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The seal of a ὅπατος καὶ χ. of Cephallenia (eighth-ninth century), and another of a βασ. σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ χ. of the Cibyrrhaeot Theme, are published by Schlumberger, Mél. 205, 208. The chartularies of the themes are mentioned in Alex. Comn., Nov. 30, p. 374.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Agathias, i. 19, p. 55. On the cancellarii see esp. Krüger, Kritik des Justinianischen Codex, 163 sqq. (1867).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Mommsen, 478 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See (Maurice) Strat. iii. 5, vii. 16. Cp. Aussaresses, op. cit. 23.

(27) Οἱ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν θεμάτων.

These writers have not called attention to the difficulty which lies in the alternation of the plural with the singular in Philotheos, to whose notices we have to add the evidence of Takt. Usp.

- Singular: (1) Takt. Usp. 120 ὁ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν θεμάτων (a protospatharios).
  - (2) Phil. 714<sub>5</sub> ἡ τοῦ ἐκ π. τῶν θ.
  - (3) ib. 729, ὁ ἀνθ. πατρ. καὶ ἐκ π. τῶν θ.
- Plural: (4) Phil. 715, οἱ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν θεμάτων (cod. σχολῶν).
  - (5) ib. 732<sub>1</sub> οἱ πρωτοσπαθάριοι ἐκ προσώπου τῶν θεμάτων κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἕκαστον θέμα.

We must interpret the singular as equivalent to a plural; as these officials were appointed for temporary needs, it is clear that there might sometimes be one, sometimes more than one, sometimes none. It is, however, quite possible, seeing the constant confusions of sing. with plur. both in the Taktikon and in Philotheos, that the plural should be read in 1, 2, and 3. From the nature of the case, an  $\epsilon \kappa$   $\pi \rho o \sigma \omega \sigma v$  had no permanent  $\delta \phi \phi \ell \kappa \iota v$ , he would use the existing  $\delta \phi \phi \ell \kappa \iota v$  of the Stratêgos in the theme to which he was sent; and

<sup>2</sup> 197-8. <sup>3</sup> Sig. 576.

<sup>1 837 &#</sup>x27;puto eum fuisse qui legiones integras repraesentaret, corum loco et nomine ad imperatorem peroraret', &c. He is followed by Schlumberger.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Bibliography. Uspenski, Tubel, 135 quotes from Kekaumenos, Stratêgikon, 40 (ed. Jernstedt) ἐγχειρίσθητι κὰν ἐκπροσωπικὴν ἢ τὴν ἀρχοντίαν ἢ τὸ βασιλικὸν τῆς πολιτείας ἡμῶν, where ἐκπροσωπικὴ (ἀρχή) is probably the office of a locum tenens for a stratêgos. But Uspenski throws no light on the subject.

<sup>5</sup> τοῦ γὰρ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Εὐσταθίου καὶ ἀσηκρῆτις ἐν τῷ τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν θέμαιι ἐκ προσώπου ἀποσταλέντος.

therefore these officers are passed over by Philotheos in his list of the  $\delta\phi\phi\ell\kappa\iota a$ .

Philotheos mentions (788<sub>10</sub>) the fees paid by the  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\pi\rho$ . to the atriklinai, and here he uses the phrase  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\omega\pi\sigma\nu$   $\sigma\tau\rho\sigma\tau\eta\gamma\sigma\bar{\nu}$ , which illustrates the construction of the genitive  $\tau\omega\nu$   $\theta\epsilon\mu\Delta\tau\omega\nu$ , in the title  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\pi\rho$ .  $\tau\omega\nu$   $\theta$ ., as dependent not on  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\pi\rho$ . but on  $\sigma\tau\rho\sigma\tau\eta\gamma\omega\nu$  or a word of the kind.

Schlumberger has published a seal (Sig. 245) of eleventh or twelfth century of an  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa$  προσώπου in the Theme of the Optimati : Μιχαηλ  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa$  προσωπου των οπτ $\tilde{\epsilon}$ (ματων). An earlier seal of the eighth or ninth century (ib. 577, No. 6) records a πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa$  προσώπου. The  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa$  προσώπου τοῦ δρόμου (Sig. 123) must be kept apart from the τῶν θεμάτων. An earlier seal of Theodotos,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa$  προσώπου Μεθώνης, will be found in Mel. 204.

#### ΙΙ. δομέστικοι.

The Domestici fall into two groups, the four Domestici of the Tagmata,<sup>2</sup> and the rest. Before treating them separately, some general words of explanation seem required concerning the Tagmata, as to which vague and incorrect opinions have been held.<sup>3</sup>

The Byzantine army consisted of two great divisions, the  $\theta \ell \mu a \tau a$  and the  $\tau \dot{a} \gamma \mu a \tau a$ , and troops were designated as thematic or tagmatic according to the division to which they belonged.<sup>4</sup> The themata were the troops of the provinces, and the tagmata were the troops stationed in or about the capital. The themata were commanded by strategoi, the tagmata by domestici, and there were differences in the organization.

The tagmata are frequently mentioned by Theophanes in the history of the eighth century, e. g.  $\sigma_{\chi}$  or  $\delta_{\eta}$  or  $\delta_{\eta}$  or  $\delta_{\eta}$  or  $\delta_{\eta}$  or  $\delta_{\eta}$  and he opposes them to the themes ( $\delta_{\eta}$  decay decay decay  $\delta_{\eta}$  or  $\delta_{\eta}$  ore

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. also 577, No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ μεγάλοι δομέστικοι τῶν τ. in Cer. 287<sub>20</sub>, 299<sub>14</sub> seem to mean these four, cp. 291<sub>17</sub>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The subject has been treated by Uspenski, Voennoe ustroistvo (see Bibliography). Reiske (837) enumerates the four tagmata incorrectly, and it is clear that Gelzer (17 sqq.) did not realize what they were.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cp. e. g. Nov. Nicephori Phocae xviii, p. 290 ταγματικοί καὶ θεματικοί.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Also  $461_{20}$ ,  $468_{7}$ ,  $471_{14}$ , &c. It may be noted that  $\tau \acute{a}\gamma \mu a\tau a$  is used of the Scholarians by Agathias, 5, 15 (310<sub>1</sub>, 1<sub>3</sub>). Cp. Menander, fr. 11  $\tau \acute{a}\nu \kappa a\tau \grave{a} \tau \dot{\eta}\nu$   $a\grave{v}\grave{\lambda}\dot{\eta}\nu \tau a\gamma \mu \acute{a}\tau \omega \nu$  commanded by the Mag. Off. In the sixth century  $\tau \acute{a}\gamma \mu a$  was used for  $\beta \acute{a}\nu \delta o\nu$ , see above, p. 42.

Excubiti, (3) the Arithmos, (4) the Hikanatoi. The evidence <sup>1</sup> for the four Tagmata is abundant in documents of the ninth and tenth centuries. For the eighth century there is no explicit evidence as to their number, but, as the Hikanatoi seem to have been instituted by Nicephorus I (see below), we may assume that there were three.<sup>2</sup> They consisted of cavalry.<sup>3</sup> But tagmata was also used in a looser sense to include two other bodies, the Numeri and the Imperial fleet.<sup>4</sup> The Numeri were infantry <sup>5</sup> and did not leave Constantinople, and this applies also to the troops who were under the command of the Count of the Walls.<sup>6</sup>

The term  $\sigma \chi o \lambda \acute{a} \rho \iota o \iota$ , though strictly used of the troops of one tagma, the  $\Sigma \chi o \lambda a \iota$ , was also used for the rank and file of all four Tagmata.

It appears from a document of the tenth century that detachments of the four Tagmata were stationed in Thrace, in Macedonia, and in the 'Peratic' region on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus.<sup>8</sup>

- 1 Phil. 7584 λοιπῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν δ΄ ταγμάτων, 7635 οἱ δ΄ δομέστικοι τῶν δ΄ ταγμάτων. Cer. 59818 (ii. 16) οἱ τῶν δ΄ τ. ἄρχοντες, καὶ ὁ μὲν δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν καὶ ὁ ἐξκούβιτος καὶ ὁ ἰκανάτος εἰσέρχονται ... χαιρετίζουσιν τὸν δρουγγάριον τῆς βίγλας. Cp. 60518-21. Περὶ ταξ. 484:3 τὰ τάγματα ... αἱ σχολαὶ ... τὰ ἐξκούβιτα ... ὁ ἀριθμός ... ὁ ἰκανάτος (leg. οἱ ἰκανάτοι). Cer. 6663, τ, &c. Cont. Th. 18116 (A.D. 863) μετὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν τεσσάρων ταγμάτων. The earliest enumeration is in Kudâma (depending on Al Garmi and relating to A.D. 838-45), De Goeje, 196 sq. (Gelzer, 17 sqq.). Some of the names are mutilated. (1) Scholarii; (2) Excubiti—so Gelzer, and Uspenski, op. cit. 169; (3) ''wkws, under the command of a trungar' (drungarios): Gelzer thinks the Hikanatoi are meant, but (a) the title drungarios points to the Arithmos, and (b) the Arithmos is third in precedence; Uspenski also believes that the Arithmos is meant; (4) fidaratiyin = φοιδεράτοι; De Goeje indiscreetly suggested σκουτάριοι: it is very unlikely that the Hikanatoi are designated under the name φοιδεράτοι, but emendation is out of place. See below, p. 64.
- <sup>2</sup> We cannot press Theoph. 461<sub>20</sub> τῶν σχολαρίων τε καὶ ἐκσκουβιτόρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ταγμάτων, esp. as 'the remaining tagmata' may include the Numeri and Teichistai. The Arithmos (Vigla) is included 491<sub>11</sub>, where however the Hikanatoi are not mentioned (A.D. 811).

<sup>8</sup> Kudâma says they were each 4,000 strong; but Ibn Khurdâdhbah (81) seems to suggest that they were 6,000.

• Cer.  $604_7$  οἱ τῶν ταγμάτων ἄρχοντες• τῶν σχολῶν, τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, τῶν νουμέρων ἐν μιᾳ τάξει• οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐξσκουβίτων, οἱ ἱκανάτοι καὶ οἱ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλοίμου ἐν ἑτέρᾳ τάξει.

<sup>5</sup> Kudâma, *ib.* <sup>6</sup> Cp. Cer. 524<sub>22</sub>-525<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>7</sup> The text (which can be dated A. D. 949) in Cer. ii. 45,  $666_{3-18}$  proves this quite clearly. The ἄρχοντες τῶν δ΄ τ. are opposed to the σχολάριοι τῶν δ΄ τ., and the ἄρχοντες and σχολάριοι of the Excubiti and Hikanatoi are mentioned. So too Cer.  $619_9$  of ἄρχ. τῶν τ. μετὰ τῶν σχολαρίων. This ought to have been recognized by Uspenski (cp. loc. cit. 171).

8 Cer. 666. This passage will be discussed below in connexion with the

topotêrêtês of the Schools.

As to the title Domesticus. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries it constantly occurs in the sense of princeps officii, as the designation (primicerius is used in the same way 1) of the chief subaltern of a general, minister, or governor of a province. In the fifth and sixth centuries the domestici of the magistri militum were important persons. It will be shown below (p. 50) that the elevation of the title to designate the commanders of the guard troops was probably due to the withdrawal of the Schools from the control of the Master of Offices.

## (1) ὁ δομέστικος των σχολων.

At the beginning of the fifth century there were seven scholae of palace guards at Constantinople.3 Some of these scholae were composed of foreigners (gentiles),4 and during that century up to the reign of Zeno the foreign element seems to have been chiefly Armenian.<sup>5</sup> Zeno introduced Isaurians.<sup>6</sup> The total number of the scholarian troops was 3,500,7 and we may infer that each schola was 500 strong. As palace guards they were under the orders of the magister officiorum. Justinian at the beginning of his reign increased the number to 5,500, adding four new 'supernumerary' scholae.8 The number might seem to have been afterwards reduced to the original seven by Justinian himself. For Theophanes records that in A.D. 562 that emperor transferred to Thrace (Heraclea and the adjacent cities) the scholarians who were settled in Nicomedia, Prusa, and other Bithynian towns. The text (p. 237) gives των έπτα σχολαρίων τους καθεζομένους κτλ., where σχολαρίων should be corrected to σχολών. Again in the περὶ ταξειδίων of Constantine Porph. an account of a ceremony in the reign of Justinian is preserved, and αί έπτὰ σχολαί are mentioned (497<sub>21</sub>). But it seems more probable that the original seven scholae were distinguished from the four new supernumerary regiments. Further there is indirect evidence that the number of scholae was afterwards increased to fifteen, for in the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Cass. Var. 10, 11 primiceriatus qui et domesticatus nominatur.

3 Not. Dig. Or. xi. 4-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Mommsen 508, and *Eph. Epigr.* v. 139-41, where the material will be found. Marcian was a dom. of Aspar, Theoph. 104<sub>21</sub>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ib. Scola gentilium seniorum, and sc. gent. iuniorum. Amm. Marc. 14. 7, 9; 20. 2, 5; 27. 10, 12, &c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Proc. H. A. 24. 16.

<sup>6 (</sup>Ib. 17 and) Agath. 5. 15, p. 310.

<sup>7</sup> Proc. ib. 15.

 $<sup>^{8}</sup>$  Ib. 19 (ὑπεράριθμοι). C. I. 4. 65. 35 (A. D. 530) in undecim deuotissimis scholis.

tenth century there were fifteen counts, and the count was the commander of the schola 1 (see below).

The Domestic of the Schools is first mentioned in the eighth century (Theoph. 442, A. D. 767). The abolition of the Magister Officio-) rum led to the distribution of the various duties which he performed to a number of independent functionaries, and the Domestic of the Schools was his successor in the command of the scholarian guards. As we have no formal evidence as to the date or mode of the change, it must be left an open question whether the Magister was relieved of this command before his final disappearance from the scene. we may ask whether the Domestic was a new creation, whose title was invented at the time when the Magister was superseded, or was he an already existing subordinate who was raised to the supreme command.2 Now there is an important text in the Chron. Pasch. (724) which throws light, I believe, on this question. The chronicle tells that when Heraclius went to the East in A.D. 624 he was accompanied by Anianus, the Domesticus of the Magister (δομεστίκου τοῦ μαγίστρου).3 The Magister, standing alone, means the Magister Officiorum. The obvious inference is that the Scholarians went with the emperor, and were under the command of the Domesticus of the Magister, while the Magister remained at Constantinople. The Domesticus of the Magister is mentioned in the fourth century (Ammianus Marc. 30. 2, 11), and is perhaps the same official who is called the adiutor in the Not. Dig. (Or. xi. 41). The text connecting the Domesticus with the scholarian guards seems to supply the explanation of the origin of the Domestic of the Schools. The supersession of the Magister meant, so far as the Schools were concerned, the transference of the command to his Domestic, who retained the title. To this change we may probably attribute the exaltation of the title δομέστικος.4

When we meet δομέστικος without any qualification, it means the

<sup>1</sup> For a place in the Palace called πρώτη σχολή see schol. on Cer. 8<sub>11</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> The Parisinus has μεγίστου.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> We must eliminate a passage of Theophanes, which, as the text stands, might seem to point to a κόμης over the scholae. He records a mutiny of the scholae in a.d. 562 (p. 237): ἐπανέστησαν αἱ σχολαὶ τῷ κόμητι αὐτῶν—καὶ ἐπῆλθον αὐτῷ. We should expect τοῦς κόμησι and αὐτοῦς. It is not a case for emendation; the chronographer misunderstood his source.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> It may be noted that in late times domesticus was used as an ecclesiastical title. Referring to a precentor at Thessalonica, Philotheos, in an Encomium on Gregory Palamas, says δομέστικον ἡ συνήθεια τοῦτόν φησιν (Migne, P. G. 151, 638). I notice this passage only because Uspenski strangely cites it as if it were important, B. Z. 3. 186.

δ.  $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \chi o \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$  (as in Theoph. 456<sub>10</sub>). The Domestici Schol. in the eighth century mentioned by Theophanes had the Patrician rank. From the Taktikon Uspenski (111) we learn that in the reign of Michael III they came in order of precedence above all military commanders except the strategos of the Anatolics, and they hold the same place in the list of Philotheos. The Domesticate was held in the ninth century by such men as Manuel and Bardas, and for military expeditions the Domestic was sometimes appointed Commanderin-Chief of the whole army.2 But it was not till the tenth century that it became the habit to appoint him to this supreme command. The biographer of Basil I says that he sent the Domestic of the Schools against Chrysocheir συνήθως (Const. Th. 2723). This συνήθως seems to be an inference of the writer from the practice of his own time.3 In the second half of the tenth century the δομέστικος τῶν σχολών has become the δομέστικος ἀνατολής, and has his counterpart in a new creation, the δομέστικος δύσεως 4; but this lies outside our present scope. The ceremony of creating the Domestic of the Schools was the same as that for other domestics (Cer. ii. 3).

There are but few extant seals of these Domestici. Four, none of which seems to be earlier than the tenth century, will be found in Sig. 360. In two of these the Domestic holds also the post of  $\lambda o \gamma o \theta \acute{\epsilon} \tau \eta s \tau \acute{\omega} \nu ~ \dot{\alpha} \gamma \epsilon \lambda \acute{\omega} \nu$ .

(1) The first official in the bureaux of all the Domestics is the τοποτηρητής, which represents the Latin vicarius. We find the name used officially in this sense in the sixth century in laws of Justinian 5: Nov. 152, § 19 (p. 284) τοποτηρητήν τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἐπάρχων ἡ στρατηγίδος ἀρχῆς, 16, § 4 ἐκπέμπειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡς ἄρχει τοὺς καλουμένους τοποτηρητάς. Nov. 166 (p. 375), topoteretai of praet. praef., com. larg., com. r. priv. Chron. Pasch. (A. d. 532), p. 876

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Artavasdos, the Domestic of the tyrant Artavasdos (Theoph. 419<sub>15</sub>), must have been Dom. Schol. Cp. Takt. Usp. 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The appointment did not depend on the post, but on the man. Thus Petronas, to whom the command of all the forces (both  $\tau \acute{a}\gamma \mu a\tau a$  and  $\theta \acute{e}\mu a\tau a$ ) was entrusted in A.D. 863, was strategos of the Thrakesian theme at the time. In Cont. Th. 167 it is suggested that Bardas should have led an expedition, as being Dom. Schol., but that he deputed his brother Petronas to take his place. I imagine that the statement is coloured by the later practice.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Kestas Styppiotes is another instance of a Dom. Schol. appointed Commander-in-Chief under Basil: George Mon. 847, Cont. Th. 286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cont. Th. 415, 479<sub>15</sub>; Leo Diac. 7<sub>11</sub>, 49<sub>6</sub>, 18<sub>12</sub>. Cp. Cer. 610<sub>16</sub>, 613<sub>15</sub>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See also Nov. 16. 4, p. 99; Nov. 21. 10, p. 144—of sending τοποτ. to provincial cities. Cp. also B. G. U. ii. no. 669 μεγαλοπρεπεστάτφ καὶ περιβλέπτφ Φλανίφ Μαρκέλλφ καγκ(ελλαρίφ) καὶ τοποτηρ(ητῆ).

ό τόπον ποιῶν τοῦ μαγίστρου = ibid. τὸν τοποτηροῦντα τὸν μάγιστρον. It is often used of ecclesiastical deputies.

The  $\tau o \pi o \tau \eta \rho \eta \tau a i$  of the Domestics must not be confused with the provincial  $\tau o \pi o \tau \eta \rho \eta \tau a i$ , whom we find in charge of districts and forts. The topotêrêsia or geographical bandon was a subdivision of the turma: see Const. Porph., Them. i. 16; De adm. imp. 50. Some seals of such officers have been preserved (Sig. 370<sub>2</sub>-1). Schlumberger cites one seal which might be that of a topotêrêtês of one of the Domesticates (633)  $[+\Theta EO\Delta]\Omega P\Omega$  [TOΠ]OTHPIT[H TΩ] KATAK[AAΩNI]. He ascribes it to the ninth century.

The official document on the Cretan expedition of A.D. 949 (in Cer. ii. 45) contains an important passage (666) bearing on the tagmata and the topotêrêtai, the significance of which has not been appreciated. It must be given in full:—

- (1) ἀπὸ τοῦ θέματος Θράκης, ὁ τοποτηρητης καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δ΄ ταγμάτων ἄρχοντες, ἄνδρες ρλθ΄, σχολάριοι τῶν δ΄ ταγμάτων ἄνδρες τνδ΄ ὁμοῦ ἄρχοντες καὶ σχολάριοι τῶν δ΄ ταγμάτων, ἄνδρες vςv [139+354 = 493].
- (2) ἀπὸ τοῦ θέματος Μακεδονίας, ὁ τοποτηρητης καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δ΄ ταγμάτων ἄρχοντες, ἄνδρες πγ΄. σχολάριοι τῶν δ΄ ταγμάτων ἄνδρες σςγ΄· ὁμοῦ ἄρχοντες καὶ σχολάριοι τῶν δ΄ ταγμάτων ἄνδρες ωξθ΄ [83 + 293 = 376, + 493 = 869].
  - (3, 4) ἀπὸ τῶν περατικῶν θεμάτων.
- (3) δ έξσκουβίτωρ μετὰ τοῦ τοποτηρητοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ παυτὸς τοῦ τάγματος αὐτοῦ, ἀρχόντων καὶ σχολαρίων ὁμοῦ ἀνδρῶν ψ' [700].
- (4) δ ίκανάτος μετὰ τοῦ τοποτηρητοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τάγματος αὐτοῦ, ἀρχόντων καὶ σχολαρίων, δμοῦ ἀνδρῶν υνς' [456].

Here we have the four τοποτηρηταί of the four tagmata. Those of the Excubiti and Hikanatoi are expressly designated. The order suggests that (1) is the topotêrêtês of the Schools; (2) would then be the topotêrêtês of the Arithmos. The passage proves <sup>1</sup> that detachments of all the tagmata had their quarters in Thrace and Macedonia, and detachments at least of the Excubiti and Hikanatoi had quarters in Bithynia. (Under Justinian II, Scholarians stationed in Bithynia were transferred to Thrace, Theoph. 236<sub>17</sub>.) So too in the Cretan expedition of A.D. 902, we find Thracian and Macedonian Scholarians (Cer. 652<sub>4</sub>), and in the Italian expedition of A.D. 935 (ib. 660<sub>19</sub>). We may reasonably conjecture that it was a special function of the topotêrêtai to command the provincial detachments of the tagmata.

In military expeditions (Anon. Vári,  $6_{19}$ ) we find the topotêrêtês and the chartularius of the Schools each in charge of half the tagma. For the  $\tau o \pi$ .  $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \chi o \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$  see further Cer.  $599_2$ ,  $256_7$ . The topotêrêtai

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The inferences of Uspenski (loc. cit. 186-7) are very perverse.

are spathars in Takt. Usp. 127; in Phil. (734) they may be spatharocandidati. For their participation in ceremonies see Cer. 524<sub>19</sub>.

(2) The  $\kappa \delta \mu \eta \tau \epsilon s$   $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$   $\sigma \chi o \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$  belong to the not large number of officers who have retained the title which they bore in the fifth century. In the fourth century the commander of the schola was a tribunus (Amm. Marc. 20. 2, 5; C. Th. 7. 4, 23 scholarum tribunos, A.D. 396), but before A.D. 441 he has become a (vir spectabilis) comes scholarum, Nov. Theod. ii. 21 = C.I.1.31.3).  $\kappa \delta \mu \eta \tau \epsilon s$   $\sigma \chi o \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$  are mentioned in the reigns of Leo I (document in Cer. 416<sub>16</sub>) and of Anastasius I (Theoph. 138<sub>10</sub>), and in the sixth century we meet  $\tau \delta \nu \kappa \delta \mu \eta \tau a$   $\tau \hat{\eta} s$   $\xi \kappa \tau \eta s$   $\hat{\eta} \epsilon \beta \delta \delta \mu \eta s$   $\sigma \chi o \lambda \hat{\eta} s$  in a fragment of Peter Patr. (Cer. 391<sub>12</sub>, 392<sub>1</sub>). A seal (eighth or ninth century, according to Schlumberger) of the count of the fifth schola is preserved (Sig. 359  $\kappa \delta \mu \eta [\tau \eta] \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \chi o \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \chi o \lambda \hat{\eta} s$   $\pi \epsilon \mu \pi \tau \eta s$ ).

The text of Philotheos gives δύο κόμητες. This is plainly an error, but can easily be corrected to  $\beta'$ , which corresponded to the following y' and δ' and meant that the κόμητες were the second item in the officium. We have seen already that there were seven scholae in the fifth century and that Justinian raised the number to eleven. many were there in later times? For the end of the tenth century we have evidence in Anon. Vári, where we find thirty counts, κόμητες ἀνὰ ὀκτώ . . . κόμητες ἀνὰ ἐπτά  $(6_{22}, 28)$ . From the same context we learn that there were thirty banda, so that each count was captain of a bandon,1 but we are not told by this writer the size of a bandon. Was the schola a bandon, considered tactically? In that case there would have been thirty scholae. But if so, the schola cannot have retained its old number of 500 men (cp. above, p. 49), for 15,000 is much too high for the total number of the scholarii. If we assume the bandon to have been 200 the total would be 6,000, a figure which might be defended by a statement of Ibn Khurdâdhbah that 'the emperor's camp, in his residence or in the field, consists of four divisions of cavalry commanded by a patrician, under whom are 6,000 soldiers and 6,000 servants, (81, cp. Gelzer, 125).2 But this statement does not agree with the statement of Kudâma, which comes from the same source as Ibn Khurdâdhbah's information. According to Kudâma the total number of the scholarians was 4,000 (157). It may, however, be shown that the data of Anon. Vári (even assuming that no change had been made in the organization of the scholae in the intervening century and a half) cannot be combined with the data of the Arabic writers. For the anonymous

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Kulakovski, Vizantiiski Lager, 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This is observed by Vogt, Basile I<sup>er</sup>, 348.

military writer cannot possibly have contemplated as present in the camp which he describes a force of scholarians numbering anything like 4,000. In c. viii (p. 17) he says that the minimum number of cavalry with which an emperor can march in person is 8,200, which includes a thousand guards (i. e. the Hetairoi and Athanatoi). Ordinarily he would have more; let us say, with Kulakovski, 10,000 or even 12,000. If we consider that not only the other three tagmata, but also cavalry of the themes have to be included in this total, it is clear that the scholarii alone cannot have numbered anything like 4,000, much less 6,000. The bandon therefore must have been much smaller than 200 men. As a matter of fact, we learn what the bandon of cavalry in the latter half of the tenth century was from the  $\Sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta$ γική ἔκθεσις of Nicephorus II (see Bibliography): των καβαλαρικών διατάξεων οι ἀρχηγοι ἐχέτωσαν βάνδα. τὰ δὲ βάνδα αὐτῶν είναι ἀνὰ ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα (p. 12). Thirty such banda give a total of 1,500, which is a reasonable proportion.

We might attempt to reconcile this result with the number of Kudâma by supposing that only a part of the tagma of Scholarii is contemplated by Anon. Vári.<sup>2</sup> But the figures of the Arabic writer seem to be very doubtful in view of the numbers given for the Excubiti and the Hikanatoi. Kudâma gives 4,000 for each of these corps; but in the document of A.D. 949 cited above (Cer. 666) we find that the whole tagma of the Excubiti, including officers, numbered 700, and the whole tagma of the Hikanatoi, including officers, 456. There are two alternatives: either the tagmata suffered an immense reduction in numbers between the middle of the ninth and the middle of the tenth century, or the figures of Kudâma are utterly erroneous. I have little doubt that the latter inference is the correct one.

The data point to a complete reorganization of the Scholae since the sixth century. Under Justinian, there were the seven old Scholae, and four 'supernumerary' scholae, each 500 strong, so that the whole number was 5,500. In the tenth century there are thirty banda, each fifty strong: in all 1,500. Whether the bandon was a schola, so that there were thirty scholae, or whether each schola had several banda, is a difficult question. For the first alternative it may be argued (1) that the seal of a count of the fifth schola, belonging to the eighth or ninth century (see above), points to the continued connexion of the count with the schola; to which it may be replied that the thirty counts of the banda may have been instituted subsequently to the date of the seal; (2) that a passage in the  $\pi\epsilon\rho$ \(\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\).

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But the writer speaks as if the whole τάγμα were present 6<sub>17-20</sub>.

stantine VII points to the comites being still assigned each a schola (494<sub>16</sub>), ἵνα καὶ οἱ κόμητες κατὰ μίαν σχολὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἔχωσιν.

The  $\kappa \delta \mu \eta \tau \epsilon_s \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \chi \delta \hat{\omega} \nu$  are of spathar rank in Philotheos (735<sub>8</sub>), of

lower rank in Takt. Usp. 127.

(3) The functions of the chartularius (spathar, Phil. 735<sub>17</sub>, lower, Takt. Usp. 127 leg. δ χαρτουλάριος, 129) must have corresponded, mutatis mutandis, to those of the chartularius of the theme (see above, p. 44). He, the topotêrêtês, and the comites are distinguished as μεγάλοι ἄρχουτες from the lower members of the officium, Cer. 524<sub>19</sub>. His rank next, and near to, the τοποτηρητής, is also illustrated by the position his tent occupied in a camp, Anon. Vári,  $6_{21}$ .

(4) The domestici (stratores, Phil.  $736_{21}$ , candidati, Takt. Usp. 128) were officers under the comites. Cer.  $599_4$  οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ δεύτεροι ἄρχοντες τῶν σχολῶν ἤγουν κόμητες καὶ δομέστικοι. Anon. Vári,  $6_{23}$  κἀκείθεν κόμητες—σὺν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς δομεστίκοις. If the comes commanded a bandon of fifty, it may be conjectured the domesticus commanded a subdivision of ten, so that there would be five domestici

under each comes, and 150 domestici in all.

(5) The  $\pi\rho o \epsilon \xi \eta \mu o s$  or  $\pi\rho o \epsilon \xi \iota \mu o s$  (so Takt. Usp. 129) was of lower than spathar rank. We meet him in the reign of Constantine V described as an  $\partial \nu \eta \rho \xi \iota \phi \eta \rho \eta s$ : in the Vita S. Stephani iunioris (Migne, P. G. 100, 1169, 1172) he removes Stephen from the prison of the Praetorium). The position of his tent in the camp (on an expedition led by the emperor) is noted in Anon. Vári,  $5_6$ . From a comparison with the officium of the Domesticus Excubitorum we might surmise that he performed the same kind of duties as the protomandator of that officium, and this is confirmed by Cer.  $599_{11}$ ,  $_{18}$ , where these two officers play corresponding parts in the ceremony there described.

In early times proximus was the title of the chief in certain bureaux (scrinia), e.g. in the sacra scrinia (memoriae, &c., C. Th. 6. 26. 10), in the scrinium ammissionum (Peter Patr., in Cer. 394 δ πρώξιμος τῶν ἀδμηνσιόνων). We must suppose that the proximus of the Schools was chief of a scrinium (not mentioned in Not. Dig.), which performed for the Scholae the same functions that the scriniarii of the magister militum performed for them (Not. Dig. Or. v. 72, 73, &c.).

(6) The προτίκτορες can hardly be dissociated from the protectores of the earlier empire. These guards, who were instituted in the third century, and the Domestici, have been fully studied by Mommsen, Eph. Epig. 5. 121 sqq. They were closely associated and were under the two comites domesticorum (equitum and peditum). In the latter half of the sixth century Menander, the historian, was a protector.

<sup>1</sup> ό δὲ πρώξιμος καὶ ό κόμης τῶν βουκίνων σὺν τοῖς μαγκλαβίταις ἔστωσαν κτλ.

In a Novel of Justinian (158, A.D. 548) mention is made of domestici and protectores, deputed on service in Pontus. In A.D. 559 the protectores are mentioned with the Schools as guarding the walls against the Huns and Slavs (Theoph.  $233_{18}$ ). By the eighth century these guards and their counts have disappeared. The  $\pi\rho\sigma\tau i\kappa\tau\sigma\rho\epsilon$ s under the Domesticus of the Schools point to the conclusion that they were merged in the Scholarian guards.

(7, 8, 9) The εὐτυχοφόροι (? εὐτυχιοφόροι) were so called because they carried εὐτύχια (vulgo  $\pi$ τυχία), images of Fortune or Victory (see Reiske, 668 sqq., and Bieliaev, ii. 70–71, note). Cp. Cer.  $576_{16}$  ἔστησαν τὰ 'Ρωμαϊκὰ σκῆπτρα καὶ πτυχία καὶ λοιπὰ χρυσᾶ σκῆπτρα. This passage does not support Reiske in holding that they were vexilla. Rather they were  $\sigma$ κῆπτρα, staves, with images at the top. See Cer.  $11_{18}$  τά τε 'Ρωμαϊκὰ σκῆπτρα τὰ λεγόμενα βῆλα, ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ εὐτύχια καὶ τὰ ἔτερα σκῆπτρα, πρὸς τούτοις τὰ σκεύη τῶν προτικτόρων καὶ σινατόρων, καὶ τὰ σκεύη τῶν δρακοναρίων; λάβουρά τε καὶ καμπηδηκτόρια, μετὰ καὶ τῶν βάνδων. The σκῆπτρα called vela may have been the σκῆπτρα of the σκηπτροφόροι. σκεύη is used as a general word for all such insignia or emblems.² We are not told what the σκεύη of the protectores were. It is probable that the ἀξιωματικοί also had σκεύη. Each of the four tagmata had four (the Hik. alone, three) classes of this kind, and they may be placed here side by side.

Scholae.	Excubiti.
προτίκτορες	δρακονάριοι
εὐτυχιοφόροι	σκευοφόροι
σκηπτροφόροι	σιγνοφόροι
άξιωματικοί	σινάτορες
Arithmos.	Hikanatoi.
βανδοφόροι	βανδοφόροι
λαβουρίσιοι	
σημειοφόροι	σημειοφόροι
δουκινιάτορες	δουκινιάτορες

We may conjecture that the  $\kappa a\mu \pi \eta \delta \eta \kappa \tau \delta \rho \iota a$  (Cer. 11 and 575), whatever they were, 4 may have been the emblems of the ἀξιωματικοί. These groups are arranged in strict order of precedence.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Cer. 640<sub>16</sub>-641<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. C. Th. 7. 4. 27, and Not. Dig. Or. xv. 8 et deputati eorum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The text of Philotheos transposes, but in another place (738<sub>2-4</sub>) he shows the true order.

<sup>4</sup> In connexion with this, it is relevant, I think, to note the part played by campiductores at the elevations of Leo I and Anastasius (Cer. 411, 423).

The  $\delta \xi \iota \omega \mu \alpha \tau \iota \kappa o'$  seem to be referred to in *Cer.* 250, where they are mentioned with the  $\sigma \kappa \epsilon v o \phi' \rho o \iota$  of the Excubiti; but in  $251_{23}$ ,  $230_{22}$ ,  $236_8$ ,  $239_{17}$  the word can hardly have this narrow sense; it means dignitaries, as generally elsewhere.

(10) Of the  $\mu a v \delta \acute{a} \tau o \rho \epsilon s$  it need only be said that they were a part of the officium of all military chiefs. The place of protomandator seems to have been taken by the proximos.

## (2) δ δομέστικος των εξκουβίτων.

The Excubitores (ἐξκουβίτορες or ἐξκούβιτοι) were a body of palace guards, as the name denotes, organized probably by Leo I.1 They were under the command of a comes, a post which was held by Justin I at the time of his elevation (Cer. 426, John Mal. 410). We can trace this title down to A. D. 680.2 In the eighth century we first meet the δομέστικος των εκσκουβίτων instead of the κόμης (Theoph. 438,1, A.D. 765). This was more than a simple change of title. There must have been a general reorganization of the guards (perhaps ) by Leo III), and the style of the commander of the Excubiti was assimilated to the title of the commander of the Scholae, the origin of which was discussed above. The high importance of the post in the sixth and seventh centuries is shown by the fact that it was held by Tiberius, afterwards emperor, by Philippicus, the brother-in-law of Maurice, and by such an important person as Priscus (under Maurice and Phocas); and by the fact that a subordinate of the Count had patrician rank in A. D. 680 (see below under τοποτηρητής). In the eighth century we meet Domestici Excubitorum who have only spathar rank (Theoph. 438,1, 454,8). This degradation in rank shows that the old comes was not renamed but abolished, and that the Excubitors were placed under an officer of inferior rank and title. The policy of Leo III, to whom we may most probably ascribe the change, was to make the guards more dependent on himself by decreasing the dignity of their chiefs. But the inferior position of the commanders of such important troops did not endure. Their very position raised the title of Domesticus to high honour. In the case of the Schools we meet a Domestic who is a patrician in the reign of Constantine V (Theoph. 442. 25). In the case of the Excubiti the rise seems to have been slower. Michael the Amorian was created Patrician and Dom.

<sup>2</sup> Theoph. 272<sub>21</sub> (reign of Maurice), 294<sub>12</sub> (reign of Phocas); Chron. Pasch. 703,

sub a. 612; Mansi, xi. 209 (A. D. 680).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> They first definitely appear in the reign of Leo I, John Mal. 371<sub>23</sub>, but we meet an Excubitor at an earlier period, in a letter of St. Nilus (Migne, P. G. 79, Epp. ii. 322); then A.D. 490, Chron. Pasch. 606, cp. 608.

Exc. by Leo V (Gen.  $12_{16}$ ). In the Takt. Usp. the  $\delta o\mu \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \kappa o \tau \ \acute{\epsilon} \xi \sigma \kappa o \nu \beta \ell \tau \omega \nu$  is a patrician, inferior in precedence to all the  $\sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \eta \gamma o \ell$  and to the Prefect of the City  $^1$ ; in the time of Philotheos he immediately precedes the Prefect, and both of them are superior to the strategoi of the western themes. He is often called, for brevity,  $\delta \epsilon \xi \kappa o \nu \beta \iota \tau o s$ , according to a common Byzantine fashion (cp.  $\delta \gamma \epsilon \nu \iota \kappa o s$ ,  $\delta \epsilon \kappa o \nu \delta \tau o s$ ), cp. e. g.  $\pi \epsilon \rho \ell \tau a \xi$ .  $460_{13}$ , Cont. Th.  $142_{10}$ .

The Excubitors are often called as a body  $\tau \delta \ \epsilon \xi \kappa o \nu \beta \iota \tau a v^2$  or  $\tau a \epsilon \xi \kappa o \nu \beta \iota \tau a$ . They were divided into eighteen or more bands. In A. D. 949, according to the official text quoted above, p. 52, the total number of the body, including officers, was 700. Possibly there were 100 officers, and 600 guardsmen. But the organization seems to have been different from that of the Schools. The  $\sigma \kappa \rho \iota \beta o \nu \epsilon s$  (see below) correspond to the  $\kappa \delta \mu \eta \tau \epsilon s \tau \delta \nu \sigma \chi o \lambda \delta \nu$ , but no officers are mentioned corresponding to the  $\delta o \mu \ell \sigma \tau \iota \kappa o \iota$ .

Schlumberger has published a seal, which he does not date, of a Domesticus of the Excubitors (Sig. 346):  $\pi \alpha \tau \rho \iota \kappa(\iota \omega)$   $\beta(\alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \omega)$ 

ασπαθ(αριω) καὶ δομεστ(ικω) τ(ων) β(ασιλικων) εξκουβ(ιτων).

- (1) In the list of this officium the MS. has falsely the plurals τοποτηρηταί, χαρτουλάριοι, πρωτομανδάτορες for the corresponding singulars. The topotêrêtês of the Excubitors first appears in the Acts of the Sixth Ecum. Council (A. d. 680: see Mansi, xi. 209), and curiously has the rank of Patrician: 'Αναστασίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων πατρικίου καὶ τοποτηρητοῦ τοῦ κόμητος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἐξκουβίτου.
  - (2) χαρτουλάριος.
- (3) In the sixth century we find σκρίβωνες as a company of imperial guards. The word first occurs, so far as I know, at the beginning of the fifth century in the address of a letter of St. Nilus, Οὐάλεντι σκρίβωνι (ii. 204). Agathias (3. 14, p. 171) mentions (Λ. D. 554) Metrianus, a scribon, explaining that he was one of τῶν ἀμφὶ τὰ βασίλεια δορυφόρων. Eustratios (Vita Eutychii, P. G. 86 A, 2353) describes the persons who were sent to bring Eutychius back to Constantinople (Λ. D. 574–8)
- <sup>1</sup> In the Acts of the Fourth Council of Constantinople (A.D. 869), Leo dom. exc. is mentioned before the Prefect, but after the Logothete of the course; his rank is not given (Mansi, xvi. 310).

<sup>2</sup> Theoph. 491, Mansi, xi. 209 τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἐξκουβίτου.

 $^3$  Theoph.  $279_{18}$  τὰ ἐκσκούβιτα. This plural also meant the quarters of the Excubitors in the palace, as in Cont. Th.  $383_3$ , &c.

<sup>4</sup> Sabas, Vita Ioannicii, in AA. SS. Nov. 4 (1894) ad init. Ioannikios, at the age of 19, in A. D. 773 εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐξσκουβιτόρων στρατιὰν καὶ ἐν βάνδῳ ὀκτοκαιδεκάτῳ κατ' ἐκλογὴν ἀκριβῆ ἐντάττεται.

<sup>5</sup> But elsewhere the text has the singular correctly: 734, τοποτηρητής, 735<sub>19</sub>, 759<sub>13</sub> χαρτουλάριος, 737<sub>19</sub> πρωτομανδάτωρ (738<sub>10</sub> however οἱ πρωτομανδάτορες, read οἱ μανδάτορες).

as τους γενναιστάτους σκρίβωνας. Comentiolus, the well-known general of Maurice, had been a σκρίβων, and Theophylactus Simocatta explains it to mean one of the emperor's σωματοφύλακες (see 1. 4, 7; also 7. 3, 8). Bonosus whom Phocas made comes orientis (Theoph. 296, 29) had been a scribon (Theoph. Sim. 8, 9, 10), as also Theodore, who was Patriarch of Alexandria at beginning of seventh century (List of Patriarchs at end of Nicephorus, Chron. 129). Schlumberger (Sig. 361) has published a seal Στεφάνου σκρίβουος which he ascribes to the sixth or seventh century, and Panchenko another of the same period (Ἰωάννον σ., xiii. 148). These data point to the existence of a taxis of scribones, perhaps connected with the Excubitors, and supplying officers to that body. Even in later times we find σκρίβωνες taking part in ceremonies separately from the rest of the Excubiton. Thus Cer. 81,0 κανδιδάτοι δὲ καὶ σκρίβονες καὶ μανδάτορες βασιλικοί, 996 οἱ δὲ κανδιδάτοι καὶ μανδάτορες, ώσαύτως καὶ οἱ σκρίβωνες, 99, σκρίβωνες καὶ μανδάτορες βαστάζοντες τὰ βεργία αὐτῶν. These σκρίβωνες can hardly be the regular officers of the divisions of the Excubiton (cp. 9913), but they may have been under the control of the Dom. Exc. The candidati and mandatores associated with them were under the protospatharios τῶν βασιλικῶν, and were at the emperor's disposal for special service. The scribones seem to have been employed in the same way. Scribones were regularly attached to the regiments of the themes, as deputati to remove and look after the wounded in battle.1 They had the rank of stratores, Phil. 736, The ceremony of creating a scribon was performed in the hall of the Excubiti (Cer. 130-1), and is described along with that of a κόμης τῶν σχολῶν (132). In the ceremony described in Cer. ii. 16 (599<sub>15</sub>) they play a similar part to that of the κόμητες.

- (4) The  $\pi \rho \omega \tau o \mu a \nu \delta \acute{a}\tau \omega \rho$  corresponded to the proximus of the Schools (see above). His rank was low (Phil. 737<sub>19</sub>). Both he and the scribones are omitted in Takt. Usp.
- (5) The  $\delta\rho\alpha\kappa o\nu\dot{\alpha}\rho\iota o\iota$  seem to correspond on one hand with the domestici of the Schools (see *Cer.* 599<sub>15</sub>, where they are associated with the scribones, as the domestici are associated with the comites), but in rank they were lower, being inferior to the  $\pi\rho\sigma\iota(\kappa\tau\sigma\rho\epsilon s)$  (Phil. 737<sub>19</sub>), to whom they also seem to correspond, as bearers of insignia  $(\delta\rho\dot{\alpha}\kappa\sigma\nu\tau\epsilon s)$ .<sup>2</sup>
- (6, 7, 8) The σκενοφόροι in the Excubiton corresponded to the eutychophoroi in the Schools (Phil.  $737_{23}$ ), the σιγνοφόροι to the

Leo, Tact. 4. 15 δεποτάτοι (sic leg. pro δεσποτάτοι). Cp. ib. 4. 6.
 Cp. Ducange, s. v. δρακονάριος.

skeptrophoroi (Phil. 738<sub>1</sub>), the σινάτορες (i. e. signatores) to the axiomatikoi (Phil. 738<sub>3</sub>). See above, p. 56.

(9) μανδάτορες. There were also λεγατάριοι in the Excubiton, though not mentioned here; but see Phil.  $738_{10}$  οι μανδάτορες (see above) καὶ λεγατάριοι τῶν ἐξκουβίτων.

## (3) ὁ δρουγγάριος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ.

The third tagma had two designations,  $\delta$   $\delta\rho\iota\theta\mu\delta^{5}$  (also of  $\delta\rho\iota\theta\mu\delta^{0}$ ) and  $\dot{\eta}$   $\beta\dot{\iota}\gamma\lambda a^{3}$  ( $\dot{\eta}$   $\beta a\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\dot{\eta}$   $\beta\dot{\iota}\gamma\lambda a$ ) 4. The earliest  $\delta\rho\sigma\nu\gamma\gamma\dot{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma$   $\tau\hat{\eta}$ s  $\beta\dot{\iota}\gamma\lambda a$  mentioned in our sources seems to be Alexius (of spathar rank) in A.D. 791 (Theoph. 466<sub>4</sub>). The designation  $\beta\dot{\iota}\gamma\lambda a$  is more frequent than  $\dot{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\dot{\sigma}$ s in the sources, and appears on two seals of drungarioi published by Schlumberger. The  $\beta\dot{\iota}\gamma\lambda a$  (vigiliae) and its commandant had special duties, which differentiated it from the other tagmata and are indicated by the name. On Imperial expeditions they had sentinel duty to perform, and the drungarios was responsible for the safety of the camp and received and conveyed the orders of the emperor (see the section  $\pi\epsilon\rho\dot{\iota}$   $\kappa\epsilon\rho\kappa\dot{\epsilon}\tau\omega\nu$  in  $\pi\epsilon\rho\dot{\iota}$   $\tau\alpha\dot{\xi}$ ., 481 sqq.). The exceptional position of the drungarios is also reflected in the ceremony in the Hippodrome in Cer. 598–9, cp.  $605_{20}$ . He had also duties connected with prisoners of war, see Cer.  $614_{18}$ , Cont. Th. 303.8

From (1) their duties, from (2) the double name of the tagma, and (3) the title of the commander, it may be inferred that the  $\beta i\gamma\lambda a$  existed before the tagmata were reorganized on a symmetrical plan. If it had only been instituted when the Scholae and Excubitors were reorganized, the commander would almost certainly have been entitled Domesticus. Now there is some evidence which suggests that the  $a\rho\iota\theta\mu\delta$ s descends from a body which existed in the sixth century. In the barbarian invasion of A. d. 559, the scholae, the protectores,  $\kappa a i o i a\rho\iota\theta\mu\delta i$ , and all the senate, were set to defend the Theodosian Wall

e. g. Phil. 715<sub>10</sub>, 718<sub>6</sub>; Cer. 611<sub>12</sub>, &c.
 Phil. 713<sub>28</sub>, 728<sub>17</sub>, &c.
 Takt. Usp. 115, 119.
 Theoph. 491; see next note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sig. 340–1 (1) Αετιω βασιλικω πρωτοσπαθαριω και δρογγαριω της βιγλης, (2) Λεοντι βασιλικ(ω) σπαθαρι(ω) και δρουγγαρι(ω) τη[s] θεοφυ(λάκτου) βασιλικης β[ιγλη]s. Both may be of the ninth century. Schlumberger suggests that Aetios may be the same as the patrician who was strategos of the East and in charge of Amorion when it was destroyed by Mamun (a. d. d. 338, not, as Schl. says, a. d. 846).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The drungarios was one of the ministers who had the duty and privilege of attending the emperor in his private yacht, *De adm. imp.* 234.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cp. also Cer. 546<sub>5</sub> ol τοῦ dρ. where the other tagmata are not associated.

<sup>8</sup> Leo, ὁ καλούμενος Κατάκαλος, who was τῆς β. δρουγγάριος under Basil I (Niketas, Vit. Ign., Mansi xvi. 288), seems to be the same as Katakalon who was dom. schol. under Leo VI. Others who held the post in the ninth century are Petronas, Constantine Maniakes and Joannes (George Mon. 793, 822, 835, 842).

(Theoph. 233, ). The ἀριθμοί are clearly residential troops like the scholarians. If we observe that the  $d\rho\iota\theta\mu\delta s$  appears in the plural,  $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ άριθμῶν, in Takt. Usp. (loc. cit.), there is evidently a case for the connexion of the later with the earlier body. The ἀριθμοί mentioned in A. D. 540 by Theophanes, who records that Bulgarian captives κατετάγησαν, in Armenia έν τοις νουμερίοις άριθμοις (21916), are numeri in the wide sense of the word, but there is some corruption in the phrase, and De Boor may be right in his conjecture έν τοις νουμέροις (ἀριθμοῖς being a gloss). Numeri meant generally the regiments, &c., of the army (cp. in numeris militant, frequent in the Not. Dig.). αριθμός is a translation of numerus, but was used (as numerus also) in a more restricted sense of certain troops stationed in the capital. It is tempting to connect their origin with a regiment instituted by Arcadius. John Malalas, who has devoted only half a dozen lines to that emperor's reign, singles out for mention the institution of the Arcadiaci (349<sub>5</sub>) ἐποίησε καὶ ἴδιον ἀριθμὸν οῦς ἐκάλεσεν ᾿Αρκαδιακούς. These are, doubtless, to be identified with the Comites Arcadiaci, a vexillatio palatina, under the general command of the mag. mil. per Thracias (Not. Dig. Or. viii. 25). There were two other associated vexillationes palatinae, the Comites Honoriaci and the Equites Theodosiaci iuniores (ib.), established evidently about the same time. My conjecture is that these troops, as distinguished from the vex. pal. under the two magg. mil. in praesenti, had special garrison duties in the capital and came to be designated as of ἀριθμοί. I put it forward merely as a guess, founded on the probability that the special mention of the Arcadiaci by Malalas points to their having an exceptional position, as well as the title comites.

The title of δρουγγάριος occurs on a seal which Schlumberger (Sig. 336) attributes to the sixth century:  $\text{Ev}[\gamma\epsilon]\nu\iota\omega$  αποεπαρχων και δρουγγαριου (sic). He plausibly identifies Eugenios with Εὐγ. δ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων mentioned by Theophanes, A.D. 560 (235<sub>1</sub>). Now the Emperor Heraclius, in his letter of A.D. 628, of which the text is given in the contemporary Chron. Pasch. (p. 731) relates that he sent to conduct Siroes Ἡλίαν τὸν ἐνδοξότατον στρατηλάτην τὸν ἐπίκλην Βαρσοκὰ καὶ Θεόδοτον τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον δρουγγάριον. It seems possible that Theodotus was commander of the ἀριθμοί, and if so it would be natural to suppose that Eugenios held the same post. But we have no material for a conclusion. We do not know at what date δροῦγγος, which originally had a tactical meaning  $(=globus)^2$ , came to be used for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is so familiar that it requires no illustration. Cp. C. I. 12. 35. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the sixth century [(Maurice), Strat.] it had a general meaning, and could be applied either to the  $\mu\hat{o}i\rho a$  or the  $\mu\hat{e}\rho os$  (= 3  $\mu\hat{o}i\rho a\iota$ ) or to other groups. Cp, Kulakovski, Drung i drungarii, 6.

a definite subdivision of the army, or whether in A.D. 628 all the officers commanding subdivisions (μοιραι) of a particular size would have been known as drungarioi.

Here, as in all the domesticates (except the Schools), the MS. has
the false reading τοποτηρηταί for τοποτηρητής (cp. Phil. 746<sub>18</sub>, 734<sub>9</sub>).

See Cer. 82<sub>16</sub>.

- (2) The χαρτουλάριος, the chief of the office, was below spathar rank, Phil. 737, Takt. Usp. 129. A seal of Nikolaos βασιλικὸς σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ (ninth or tenth century) has been published by Panchenko (viii. 246): the rank suggests a date later than Philotheos.
- (3) The  ${}^{\dot{\alpha}}\kappa\acute{o}\lambda o\nu\theta os$  (Phil. 737<sub>19</sub>) corresponds to the proximus of the Schools, and to the protomandator of the Excubiton. He is mentioned in Ceremonies in Cer. 523<sub>14</sub>, 442<sub>6</sub>. He is omitted in Phil. 746<sub>18</sub>, where we should expect to find him—no doubt accidentally. In later times  ${}^{\dot{\alpha}}\kappa\acute{o}\lambda o\nu\theta os$  was the title of the chief of the Varangian guard.
- (4, 5) The κόμητες correspond in position in the officium to the κόμητες of the Schools and the scribones of the Excubiton (Cer. 494<sub>20</sub>). In Cer. 599 they and the κένταρχος accompany the topotêrêtês; in Phil. 753<sub>23</sub>, 772<sub>2</sub>, they are also bracketed with the κένταρχοι. In Takt. Usp. 129 ὁ κόμης τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ is an error for οἱ κόμητες. In Cer. 230<sub>22</sub> (οἱ ἀξιωματικοὶ καὶ κόμητες τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ) ἀξιωματικοὶ means (not the ἀξ. of the Schools, but) the officials of the ἀριθμός superior in rank to the κόμητες. These officers, like the κόμητες of the Theme, evidently commanded the banda of the Arithmos, and the divisions of the bandon were commanded, as in the Theme, by κένταρχοι. It is strange that in the list of precedence in Phil. 737<sub>16</sub> the κένταρχοι should have the rank of stratores, and the Akoluthos, who was superior to the κόμητες in the officium, should have a lower rank (737<sub>19</sub>).
- (6,7,8,9) The βανδοφόροι, λαβουρίσιοι, σημειοφόροι, and δουκινιάτορες correspond (Phil.  $737_{22}$ – $738_4$ ) to the drakonarioi, skeuophoroi, signophoroi, and sinatores of the Excubiton respectively. Λαβαρήσιοι are mentioned in the sixth century (Peter Patr., Cer.  $404_4$ ), when they seem to have been under the magister officiorum.
- (10) The μανδάτορες appear Cer.  $578_9$  μετὰ σπαθίων καὶ σκουταρίων. There were also λεγατάριοι (Phil.  $738_{11}$ ), σκουτάριοι <sup>1</sup> (Cer.  $236_9$ ), θυρωροί and διατρέχοντες (Phil.  $746_{20}$ ) attached to the Arithmos.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Symeon (719<sub>17</sub>) has μέχρι τῶν σκουταρίων, evidently a mistake for ἐξκουβίτων; see the corresponding passage in George Mon. (ed. Bonn.) 875<sub>21</sub> (ed. Muralt, p. 800), Leo Gramm. 289<sub>23</sub>.

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## (4) δ δομέστικος των ίκανάτων.

The tagma of the Hikanatoi is not mentioned in our sources till the ninth century, and it was said to have been first organized by Nicephorus I. Our authority for this is a passage in the Vita Ignatii, ascribed to Niketas the Paphlagonian (in Mansi, xvi. 213):-Νικήταν δὲ πρώτον μὲν δεκαέτη τυγχάνοντα τῶν λεγομένων ἱκανάτων παρὰ Νικηφόρου φασί του πάππου προβεβλησθαι, δι' δυ έκείνο το πράγμα πρῶτον καταστήναι. That is, Nicephorus created his grandson Nicetas (afterwards the Patriarch Ignatius), domesticus of the Hikanatoi at the age of ten years, on whose account that body (for πραγμα read τάγμα) was first instituted. The biographer does not commit himself to either statement; he records both the appointment of Nicetas 1 and the institution of the tagma as resting on report ( $\phi a\sigma l$ ). It would therefore be rash to say that this date for the origin of the Hikanatoi is certain. Schlumberger has published two seals (Sig. 351) which might belong to the eighth century, but he has not demonstrated that they could not belong to the ninth; the chronology of the types is not at all clearly enough defined to justify his observation that the type of these seals 'vient démentir cette hypothèse' (namely, of the origin under Nicephorus I). A very large number of seals which he has published he ascribes to the ' eighth or ninth century' without being able to define the date more precisely.

The Domestic of the Hikanatoi appears in Takt. Usp., with the rank of protospatharios (119).<sup>3</sup> In the Arabic list of Kudâma—which, as we saw, represents roughly the same period as Takt. Usp.—the fourth body of cavalry guarding the capital are termed fidaratiyin. Uspenski holds that the Hikanatoi are meant,<sup>4</sup> and apparently suggests that the text should be amended. But it is clear that the writer meant to say φοιδεράτοι. Now, as Gelzer points out, a body of φοιδεράτοι is mentioned in our sources as existing in the early years of the ninth century. Leo the Armenian (afterwards Leo V) was rewarded by Nicephorus I, for abandoning the cause of Bardanes, by the post of commander of the φοιδεράτοι (Gen. 10<sub>12</sub> = Cont. Th. 9<sub>18</sub>). The revolt of Bardanes was in A.D. 803. Gelzer does not notice that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This statement is borne out by Cont. Th. 20<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ιω(αννη) β(ασιλικω) α΄ σπ[αθ]αριω και δομεστικ(ω) των [ι]κανατ(ων), and [...] καὶ  $\Delta$ ο[μεστι]κω τ(ων) [ικανα]τω(ν). Is it possible that the first of these might be Ioannes Krokoas who was Dom. Hik. under Basil I (George Mon. 847<sub>16</sub>)?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Orestes, dom. τῶν ἰκ., present at the Council of Constantinople A.D. 869, was a protospathar, Mansi, xvi. 309.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 48.

ten years later, after the accession of Leo, A.D. 813, Thomas was made a captain of the φοιδεράτοι: Gen.  $12_{14}$  τουρμάρχην εἰς φοιδεράτους ἐπέστησεν, and he seems to have held this post at the time of Leo's death (Cont. Th. 52). Then, in Takt. Usp., we find among the spatharii (123) οἱ τουρμάρχαι τῶν φιβεράτων.¹ In view of this evidence we cannot hesitate to connect the foederati of Kudâma with these φοιδεράτοι who existed under that name as late, at least, as A.D. 813–14.

The possibility then might be entertained that the Hikanatoi are the foederati under a new name, and that Kudâma's authority (Al-Garmi) used an old notitia in which they were called by the old name. Such a view, I think, must be rejected. For in the first place, there is no evidence whatever that the Hikanatoi were foreigners, as the  $\phi o \iota \delta \epsilon \rho \acute{a} \tau o \iota$  certainly were. In the second place, as our only evidence for the origin of the Hikanatoi refers their creation to the reign of Nicephorus I, and as  $\phi o \iota \delta \epsilon \rho \acute{a} \tau o \iota$  still existed three years after his death, a conversion of the one body into the other is excluded. And that the  $\phi o \iota \delta \epsilon \rho \acute{a} \tau o \iota$  in A.D. 813–14 were differently organized from the Hikanatoi is proved by the title 'turmarch of the foederati' which Thomas bore, and which is guaranteed by the Takt. Usp.; the Hikanatoi had no turmarchs.

In the reigns of Basil I and Leo VI we find the foreign soldiers in the service of the Empire organized as the ἐταιρεῖαι, under the ἐταιρειάρχαι or ἐταιρειάρχης (in connexion with which post they will be considered below, p. 106). We may therefore safely identify the φοιδεράτοι of Kudâma and the Takt. Usp. with the later ἐταιρεῖαι, and conclude that the Hikanatoi are not mentioned by Kudâma. It is possible that Al-Garmi used a notitia which was anterior to the creation of the Hikanatoi.

The corps of Hikanatoi seems to be called  $\delta$   $i\kappa a\nu d\tau os$  in  $\pi\epsilon\rho l$   $\tau a\xi$ .  $484_{15}$  (cp.  $\tau o\hat{v}$   $i\kappa a\nu d\tau o\nu$  Cont. Th.  $389_5$ ): one would rather expect  $\tau \delta$   $i\kappa a\nu d\tau o\nu$ , for  $\delta$   $i\kappa a\nu d\tau os$  usually means the Domestic ( $\pi\epsilon\rho l$   $\tau a\xi$ .  $460_{13}$ ,  $489_6$ , Cer.  $598_{19}$ ). The number of the Hikanatoi in the official document of A.D. 949 (Cer.  $666_{13}$ ) is given as 456, including officers (possibly eight banda of fifty men, and fifty-six officers).

All the officials of the Hikanatoi, except the topotêrêtês,<sup>2</sup> are below spathar rank. The officium, as observed above, is identical with that of the Arithmos, except that a protomandator corresponds to the akoluthos, and he is placed after, instead of before, the  $\kappa \acute{o}\mu \eta \tau \epsilon s$ .<sup>3</sup> In Phil. 738<sub>12</sub> the mandatores are omitted accidentally.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The same corruption appears in the MS. of Genesios, 10<sub>12</sub>, 12<sub>14</sub>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> He is a spathar in Takt. Usp. 124, where for oi τ-ai read ὁ τ-ήs.

<sup>3</sup> Takt. Usp. 129 ὁ κόμης τῶν ίκ., read οἱ κόμητες.

# (5) δ δομέστικος των νουμέρων.

In our literary sources, the troops known as  $\tau a \nu o \nu \mu \epsilon \rho a$  are first mentioned as such in Takt. Usp. 119 and Kudâma. It is at least generally agreed (so Gelzer and Uspenski) that De Goeje's emendation of mwnrh to  $nwmrh = n\bar{u}$ mera, in Kudâma's text, is certain. The importance of this text is that it describes the Numeri as a body of infantry. The Numeri and their Domestic are mentioned in other texts relating to the reign of Michael: Nicetas, Vit. Ignat. apud Mansi, xvi. 233 (Leo Lalakon = Dom. Num.)<sup>2</sup>; Cont. Th.  $175_{18}$ ,  $_{20}$ . Both these passages mention the Numera, a barracks in the palace which was used as a prison (like the Chalke), and is frequently referred to in the Book of Ceremonies (cp. also Cont. Th.  $430_{16}$ ). The Domestic is often called,  $more\ Byzantino$ ,  $\delta\ vo\nu\mu\epsilon\rho os$  (Cont. Th.  $175_{18}$ ,  $Cer.\ 293_{16}$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\rho$ \)\  $\tau a\xi$ .  $460_{14}$ ).

We have, however, a piece of evidence for the Numeri which seems to be older, in the form of a seal which Schlumberger ascribes to the seventh or eighth century  $^4$ : Νηκηφορω  $\beta(\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\omega)$  κανδιδατ $(\omega)$  και δρουνγαριω  $[\tau o]v$  νου $[\mu\epsilon\rho ov]$ . The corps is here called by a collective singular τὸ νούμερον and the officer is a drungarios. there were no drungarioi under the Domestic of the ninth century, and it is permissible to infer that in older times the commander bore the title of Drungarios. The titles of some of the subordinate officers prove to a certainty that these troops were not a comparatively new institution like the Hikanatoi. The survival of the names τριβοῦνοι and βικάριοι is a guarantee of antiquity (cp. also πορτάριοι). Now in the sixth-century document (probably from the Κατάστασις of Peter the Patrician) describing the accession of Justin I, we have the following passage: ἐδήλωσεν δὲ καὶ ὁ της θείας λήξεως 'Ιουστίνος τοις στρατιώταις και τριβούνοις και βικαρίοις απαντήσαι και τους πρώτους (sic) τῶν ἐξκουβιτόρων (Cer. 426). Justin was Comes Excubitorum. This suggests that the tribuni and vicarii were officers of a numerus, which then was subordinate to the comes excubitorum, and from which the later tagma of the Numeri descends. It may have been under a drungarios in the seventh century, and perhaps still subordinate to the comes excubitorum: it was probably organized under a Domestic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Kudâma says that it was 4,000 strong. But we have seen that we can attach no weight to these numbers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. Pseudo-Symeon 668<sub>12</sub>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Domesticus is mentioned in *Cer.* 109<sub>11</sub> in a ceremony of which the description probably dates from the reign of Michael III.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sig. 355. Schlumberger confuses (after Reiske) the Numeri with the Arithmos.

in the eighth century. Observe that the Drungarios had only the rank of a candidatus. In Takt. Usp. the Domestic is a proto-

spathar (119).

It is obvious that the first three items in the officium are (1) τοποτηρητής, (2) χαρτουλάριος, (3) τριβοῦνοι, and this correction of the text is demonstrated by another passage in Philotheos (753,), τοὺς δύο τοποτηρητάς καὶ χαρτουλαρίους των νουμέρων καὶ τειχέων, τριβούνους, βικαρίους, &c.1 In 737,2 the tribuni precede the chartularius; and while (5) βικάριοι may be stratores (737,7), the (4) πρωτομανδάτωρ is of lower rank (738<sub>8</sub>). The tribuni <sup>2</sup> and vicarii are commonly mentioned together, Phil. 78921, Cer. 29317, 29412, 14, 29522. The tribuni evidently correspond to the κόμητες of the other tagmata, the vicarii to the κένταρχοι. In the Procheiron, xi. 20, p. 21, we read τοὺς χαρτουλαρίους καὶ ληγαταρίους καὶ τριβούνους τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. As Phil. mentions no tribunes in the Arithmos, ἀριθμοῦ is probably an error The occurrence of λεγατάριοι here makes it probable for νουμέρου. that the λεγατάριοι mentioned immediately after the βικάριοι in Phil. 753, were λεγ. των νουμέρων και των τειχέων. (6) μανδάτορες. πορτάριοι = θυρωροί.

#### (6) δ δομέστικος των δπτιμάτων.

Although entitled a Domestic, and counted as such, the Domestic of the Optimati held the position of a strategos, as governor of a geographical circumscription, the  $\theta \epsilon \mu a \tau \omega v \delta \pi \tau \iota \mu \Delta \tau \omega v$ , and resided at Nicomedia. But these commanders occasionally adopted the title of strategos, as on a seal (not later than ninth century) published by Schlumberger (Sig. 244):  $\beta(\alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \omega) \sigma \tau \rho(\alpha \tau \eta \gamma \omega) \kappa \alpha \iota \delta \sigma \mu (\epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \kappa \omega) \tau \sigma v \delta \pi \tau \iota \mu \alpha \tau (\omega v)$ . Their order of rank, considerably below that of all the strategoi, corresponds to the inferiority of the optimatoi as a branch of the army.<sup>3</sup> The observations of Constantine Porphyrogennetos

<sup>1</sup> Takt. Usp. 124 (under the spatharioi) οἱ τοπ. τῶν νουμ. Phil. enumerates the items of the officium as six (so also in the case of the κόμης τ. τειχ.); they are really seven.

<sup>2</sup> Ducange, sub τριβοῦνος, cites Martyrium S. Mauricii num. 3 τριβοῦνος ἐχρημάτισεν ἐπισημοτάτου νουμέρου. I can find no trace of this document. It is not mentioned in his Index Auctorum. But the passage is irrelevant;

νούμερος is used in its wide sense.

<sup>3</sup> The treatise  $\pi\epsilon\rho$   $\tau a\xi$ . furnishes information as to duties, connected with the baggage mules, to which Optimati were deputed, during imperial progresses through Asia Minor (476, 477, 487). But in the sixth century the Optimati had a privileged position, belonging to the select troops  $(\epsilon \pi i \lambda \epsilon \kappa \tau a)$ , among which they acted as a reserve. They were under a taxiarch. See (Maurice) Strat. i. 3, 28, cp. Aussaresses, op. cit. 16, who thinks they may have been about 2,000 strong.

(*Them.* 26) show how they were looked down upon by the scholarians, &c. They were exclusively infantry, and Ibn Khurdâdhbah says that they numbered 4,000 (Gelzer, 18).

The Optimati were not divided into turms or drungoi (Them., loc. cit.), and so there was no turmarch or drungary in the officium of the Domestic. His officium was similar to that of the other Domestics, though he seems to have had no protomandator; on the other hand, like the strategoi, he had a protocancellarius. The chartulary and the  $\kappa \delta \mu \eta \tau \epsilon s$  are enumerated among the strators, Phil.  $737_{12-13}$ .

In  $\pi\epsilon\rho$ ι ταξ. 477<sub>12</sub>, 15 we find διὰ τοῦ κόμητος τῶν ὀπτιμάτων. The question therefore arises whether κόμητες in Philotheos is a mistake for κόμης.

# (7) ὁ κόμης τῶν τειχέων.

This dignitary is called by Philotheos  $\delta$   $\delta o\mu \epsilon \sigma \tau \kappa os \tau \delta v \tau \epsilon \iota \chi \epsilon \omega v$  twice (715<sub>22</sub>, 772<sub>12</sub>), but elsewhere  $\kappa \delta \mu \eta s$  (714<sub>2</sub>, 728<sub>4</sub>, 731<sub>21</sub>, 752<sub>20</sub>), which was evidently the official title. So Takt. Uspenski 119, Cer. 6<sub>7</sub>. He was also called briefly  $\delta \tau \epsilon \iota \chi \epsilon \omega \tau \eta s$ , Cont. Th. 175, 398, Cer. 295<sub>21</sub>,  $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \tau a \xi$ . 460<sub>14</sub>.

The post is mentioned by Genesios (5), where the reference is to the reign of Michael I. But it is of much older date. In A.D. 718–19 we meet an ἄρχων τοῦ τειχίου (Theoph. 401, τειχῶν Niceph. Patr. 56<sub>5</sub>).¹ The question arises whether the τείχη, with the care and defence of which he was charged, are the walls of the city, or the Long Wall of Anastasius. The title would apply to either, though in the latter case we might expect μακρῶν, but the singular τὸ τειχίον, which comes no doubt from the common source of Theophanes and Nicephorus, would apply to the Long Wall, but not to the city walls. The Long Wall was called both τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος and τὰ μακρὰ τείχη (cp. De Boor, Index to Theoph., p. 655). The walls of the city were plural (including the τ. Θεοδοσιακόν or χερσαῖον and the τείχη παράλια). Other considerations also point to the connexion of the κόμης τ. τειχέων with the Long Wall.

Among the troops stationed in the capital, Kudâma does not include those of the Count of the Walls. But among the themes, he designates, under the name of Tafla, a district, including Constantinople, and extending to a wall, two days' march from Constantinople (De Goeje 77). Masūdī in a parallel passage (Gelzer, 86) names the wall *Makrun Tihos*. Gelzer cites a passage

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Anastasius has in his version of Theophanes comitem Titichei (ed. de Boor, 259).

from the Acta of S. Demetrius (seventh century) to show that μακρου  $\tau \epsilon \hat{i} \chi o s$  was used to denote the whole district between the Long Wall and Constantinople. But he is undoubtedly wrong in his theory that both the military and civil administration of this district were in the hands of the Prefect of the City until the reign of Leo VI. For this there is no evidence. Uspenski has suggested that Kudâma's province of Tafla should be connected with the κόμης των τειχέων.2. But neither Uspenski nor Gelzer have noticed the important texts in the laws of Justinian bearing on the subject. In Nov. 16 (p. 114) we meet an official named δ βικάριος τοῦ Μακροῦ τείχους (March A.D. 535). In Nov. 25 (published a couple of months later) we learn that there were two βικάριοι τοῦ μ. τ., one military, the other civil (p. 170). Justinian, by this ordinance, combines the two offices in one, and gives to the new governor the title of πραίτωρ Ιουστινιανδε έπλ Θράκης (p. 171). These texts permit us to infer that the district between the Long Wall and the capital had been segregated as a special circumscription by Anastasius when he built the Wall. The civil and military governors whom he set over it were vicarii respectively of the Praet. Prefect of the East and the Mag. Mil. per Thracias. We may take it, then, that the ἄρχων τοῦ τειχίου descends from the Justinianean praetor, who would certainly have been a comes primi ordinis. Though Kudâma is wrong in co-ordinating the province of the Long Wall with the Themes, he is right in designating it as a district distinct from Thrace.<sup>3</sup> De Goeje's view (accepted by Gelzer) that Tafla should be corrected to Tafra =  $\dot{\eta}$   $\tau \dot{\alpha} \phi \rho o s$  is not very convincing. It is to be noted that the Wall of Anastasius had no ditch.4

We have no evidence to show whether the Count of the Walls retained the civil powers entrusted to the practor Justinianus. It is not inconceivable, for another of the group of Domestics, the Dom. of the Optimati, had civil powers, like the stratêgoi, in his province. In Takt. Usp. the Count of the Walls is a protospatharios.

The officium  $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon \iota \chi \dot{\epsilon} \omega \nu$  was modelled precisely on the officium  $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \mu \dot{\epsilon} \rho \omega \nu$ , or vice versa.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Schuchhardt, in the Jahrbuch des deutschen arch. Instituts, 16, 107 sqq.,

1901.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  AA. SS. Oct. 8, iv. 179 C ἔτι μὴν καὶ Θράκης καὶ τοῦ πρὸς Βυζαντίου Μακροῦ Τείχους. See also Theoph.  $455_{12}$  where, as Gelzer says (83), ἐν τοῖς μακροῖς τείχεσι τῆς Θράκης means the district.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Justinianean texts seem to me to dispose of the doubts of Vasil'ev (in his review of Gelzer's work, *Viz. Vrem.* 10, 201 (1903)), as to the existence of the circumscription.

#### ΙΙΙ. κριταί.

#### (1) ὁ ἔπαρχος τῆς πόλεως.

The Prefect of the City  $^1$  is one of the few high officials of the Empire who retained both his name and, for the most part, his functions unchanged throughout successive ages. In the capital his authority was supreme, next to the Emperor's. $^2$  His functions were both administrative and judicial. He was the head of the police administration and was responsible for preserving order in the City; and all the trades were organized in colleges under his control. Cp. the 'E $\pi\alpha\rho\chi\iota\kappa\delta\nu$  B $\iota\beta\lambda$ ( $\iota\nu$ ) (see Bibliography), which is supposed to date from the reign of Leo VI. For his judicial functions see Zachariä von Lingenthal,  $Griech.-r\ddot{o}m.$  Recht 366. His official quarters were the Praetorium (in the Mese, between the Augusteum and the Forum of Constantine), where was the chief prison of the city. $^3$ 

In Takt. Usp. (115) the Prefect ranks after all the strategoi and immediately before the Domestic of the Excubitors. In Philotheos his place is higher. He ranks above all the strategoi of the western Themes, but on the other hand the Domestic of the Excubitors is placed immediately before him. This change in precedence was probably due to Basil I or Leo VI. The ceremony of the Prefect's investiture is described in Cer. i. 52. He was officially termed  $\pi a \tau \eta \rho = \tau \eta s \pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega s$  (ib.  $264_{12}$ ,  $528_2$ ; Cont. Th. 461), and his office was one of the few which could not be held by a eunuch.

It has been held by Zachariä (op. cit. 365) that on the abolition of the Praetorian Prefect some of that minister's functions were transferred to the Prefect of the City. Zachariä puts it much too strongly when he says that 'die letztere Dignität [Praef. Praet.] in damaliger Zeit mit der ersteren [Praef. Urbi] verschmolzen war.' The fact that both offices are treated together in Bas. vi. 4 does not prove this. The only evidence we have is Epan. xi. 9, where the  $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\rho\chi\sigma$  is named as a judge of appeal; but it is not quite clear from this that appeals from provincial courts could come before his court, and the comparison of Bas. ix. 2. 7, to which Zachariä refers, does not prove it. The question must be left open.<sup>4</sup>

It seems probable, however, that another office was transferred to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἔπαρχος in the lawbooks, in the Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον, and in the first list of Philotheos; ἔπαρχος elsewhere in Philotheos and in Takt. Usp.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. Epan. iv. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cp. Chron. Pasch. ad ann. 532. The principal modern study of the functions of the Prefect is Uspenski's Konstantinopol'skii Eparkh (see Bibliography). It is probably he who is designated by Ibn Khurdâdhbah as Great Judge (p. 84).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Uspenski accepts Zacharia's view without discussion, op. cit., 80, cp. 88,

the Prefect of the City. Justinian (A.D. 535) abolished the old Praefectus vigilum or νυκτέπαρχος, who was subordinate to the Praef. Urbis, and instituted instead the Praetor plebis 1 or πραίτωρ δήμων (Nov. 38) who had a court, an assessor, twenty soldiers, and thirty firemen  $(ματρικάριοι)^2$  under him  $(ib. § ε').^3$  One of his most important duties was to put out fires. This Novel is reproduced in Bas. vi. 5, and Zachariä (op. cit. 372) infers that the office existed in the ninth century, notwithstanding the fact that it is not mentioned in the Epanagoge, or the Peira.4 But the silence of the Taktikon Uspenski and Philotheos seems to be decisive against this supposition. It is not conceivable that such an important official could have been passed over in these notitiae if he had existed; and there is no reference to him in the Ceremonial Book of Constantine. We must infer that the title in the Basilica has, like so many in that compilation, only antiquarian significance; that the praetor plebis and his court had been abolished, and that his duties devolved upon the Prefect and his officium.

(1, 2) The  $\sigma i \mu \pi \sigma v \sigma s$  and the  $\lambda \sigma \gamma \sigma \theta \epsilon \tau \eta s$   $\tau \sigma \hat{v}$   $\pi \rho \sigma \iota \tau \omega \rho \epsilon \sigma v$  were co-equal in rank (Cer. 274<sub>3</sub>). In Takt. Usp. 127–8 they precede the chartularii of the military themes and domesticates, but are below spathar rank. In Phil. 735<sub>10</sub> they are included among the possible spathars. They appear together at court ceremonials 750<sub>4</sub>, 752<sub>4</sub>, 772<sub>14</sub>. The procedure of their investiture is described in Cer. i. c. 57. Both officials are described as  $\sigma i \mu \pi \sigma v \sigma \iota$  in Cont. Th. 470. Cp. also Cer. 13<sub>6</sub>.

The title σύμπονος is equated with assessor in the Glosses to the

- <sup>1</sup> The Novel speaks throughout of praetores plebis in the plural. But it also refers to νυκτέπαρχοι in the plural. Only one praetor seems to be contemplated. See Procopius, H. A. 20, p. 125 πραίτωρα δήμων. Cp. Zachariä, op. cit., 372, n. 1336.
- <sup>2</sup> This seems to be the meaning of ματρικάριοι, cp. Ducange, s. v. Fire-engines are mentioned in the older Vita Theodori Stud. (Migne, 99, 312), τὴν τῶν σιφώνων κατὰ τόπους παρασκευήν.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. also Nov. 98, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Zachariä refers to the fact that the office is mentioned by Codinus, De off., p. 60, but the list of Codinus is full of obsolete titles. He also refers to Cantacuzenus, iv. 9, p. 53 Σιγηρὸν τὸν πραίτωρα δήμου (selected as an envoy to the Pope). I suspect that the office which Sigeros held was that of Prefect of the City. Leo Diaconus, there can be little doubt, used πραίτωρ in this sense, 65, 95<sub>22</sub>. The latter passage runs ταῖς μεγίσταις τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχαῖς οἰκείους ἄνδρας ἀποκαθίστησι, πραίτωρα καὶ τοῦ πλωίμου δρουγγάριον τῆς τε βίγλης καὶ ὃν καλοῦσι νυκτέπαρχον. There was no distinct great officer entitled νυκτέπαρχος. We must read τῆς τε βίγλης δν καλοῦσι νυκτέπαρχον, 'the drungarios of the Vigla who is known as νυκτέπαρχος', viz. on account of his sentinel duties in keeping watch over the emperor's tent.

Basilica. It seems impossible to identify this official with any of the subordinates of the Praefectus Urbis, who appear in Not. Dig. Occ. We may conjecture that he was the successor of the consiliarius or adsessor of the Prefect, who is found in a constitution of Theodosius II A.D. 444 (C. I. i. 51. 11), 'non parum adsessoribus magistratuum maiorum . . . ideoque consiliarios virorum illustrium praefectorum tam praetorio quam huius inclitae urbis,' &c. This may perhaps be borne out by a constitution of Zeno, in which such coadjutors (consiliarii, adsessores) are described by the term σύμπονοι (C. I. i. 51. 13 = Bas. 6. 1. 71), though it is possible that  $\sigma \dot{\nu} \mu \pi \sigma \nu \sigma \iota$ may have been substituted for some other word by the compilers of the Basilica. We learn something about one branch of his duties from the ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον, where he appears as acting for the Prefect in overseeing the guilds of the λωροτόμοι, ἀρτοποιοί and κάπηλοι. Thus xviii. § 4 προσερχέσθωσαν τῷ ἐπάρχῳ, ΐνα διὰ τοῦ συμπόνου οί σταθμοί των άρτων πρός την έξωνησιν γίνωνται, also xiv. § 2, xix. § 1. Nicole is quite in error (p. 90) in supposing that the corporations, or most of them, had each a σύμπονος of its own. It is quite clear that in all three texts the reference is to the σύμπονος of the Prefect.<sup>1</sup>

There is no direct evidence for the functions of the logothete of the praetorium. His equality with the  $\sigma \acute{\nu} \mu \pi o \nu o s$  makes it virtually certain that the sphere of the Prefect's administrative functions was divided into two complex departments, in one of which he was represented and assisted by the  $\sigma \acute{\nu} \mu \pi o \nu o s$ , in the other by the logothete. In the former was included the administration of the guilds; while from the title of the latter (associating him with the Praetorium, which was the Prefect's courthouse, and the chief prison of the city) we may infer that his functions were specially connected with the administration of justice.  $\lambda o \gamma o \theta \acute{\epsilon} \tau \eta s$  points to the descent of this official from an accountant in the Prefect's bureau, possibly from the chief of the numerarii (Not. Dig. Occ. iv. 24).

(3) The κριταὶ τῶν ῥεγεώνων (who were, in the phraseology of the Notitia Dignitatum, sub dispositione but not in officio praefecti). See Zachariä v. Lingenthal, Gr.-Röm. Recht, 373. (He thinks that they correspond to the old curatores regionum of the Descr. Urbis Cplanae. I would rather identify the latter with the γειτονιάρχαι, see below.) They might have the rank of protospathars, Phil. 732<sub>18</sub>.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It may be doubted whether the σύμπονοι of seals published by Panchenko, ix. 345, and Schlumberger, Sig. 598, belong here. For a seal of a λογ. τοῦ πραιτ. see Konstantopulos, no. 407 β.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For a seal with the inscription Πολυδωρω ρεγεωναριω (6th-7th cent.) see Schlumberger, Mél., 210.

- (4) For the  $\epsilon \pi \iota \sigma \kappa \epsilon \pi \tau \hat{\eta} \tau a \iota$  or inspectors we have no evidence to distinguish their functions from those of the similarly named  $\epsilon \pi \hat{\sigma} \pi \tau a \iota$ .
- (5) There were two πρωτοκαγκελλάριοι, or chiefs of the bureau (Phil. 772<sub>19</sub>). This exceptional arrangement suggests that a second officium was at some time or other combined with the officium proper of the Prefect, and that the πρωτοκαγκελλάριοι or principes of both were retained in the amalgamated office. We saw above that the praefectus vigilum, who used to be subordinate to the Prefect of the City, was replaced by the πραίτωρ τῶν δήμων under Justinian. This praetor existed under Maurice (Theoph. Sim. 6. 10. 6), but afterwards disappears. I conjecture that his functions were handed over to the Prefect, and the second πρωτοκαγκελλάριος descends from the princeps of the praetor. In Cont. Th. 442 only one protocancellarius seems to be contemplated.
- (6) The name of the κεντυρίων points to the office being relatively ancient. We may conjecture that he commanded the στρατιῶται who were under the Prefect. See Epan. iv. 8 ἔχει στρατιῶταs ἐπὶ τῆ εἰρήνη καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀναφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ πανταχοῦ κινούμενα.
- (7) The  $\epsilon \pi \delta \pi \tau a \iota \tau \eta s \pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega s$  (Phil. 750<sub>7</sub>) were four in number (Phil. 772<sub>19</sub>).
- (8) The έξαρχοι were heads of guilds. In the ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον we find an ἔξαρχοι of the πρανδιοπράται (v. §§ 1, 3), and ἔξαρχοι of the μεταξοπράται. The presidents of other guilds were προστάται (mentioned below). The Book of the Prefect does not refer to the heads of all the guilds; some of them it describes by the general term ὁ προεστώς. Probably in these cases the president was either an ἔξαρχος (Nicole thinks in the case of the most important) or a προσσάτης.
- (9) The twelve γειτονιάρχαι (Phil. 772<sub>19</sub>) correspond to the curatores regionum of the Descriptio Urb. Const., who however were thirteen (p. 243 in Seeck's ed. of Not. Dig.), the fourteenth region having none. Uspenski (op. cit. 100) would identify them with the old Vicomagistri, but these were far more numerous, sixty-five in all (Descr. ib.).
- (10) For the college of the νομικοί or notaries <sup>1</sup> (cp. Cer. 12. 4) see the ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον i. (περὶ ταβουλλαρίων), §§ 13, 15, 16; cp. Nicole, pp. 82 sqq., who has not noticed the Glossa nomica cited by Zachariä (Gr.-Röm. Recht, 297, n. 99) ταβελλίων (that is, tabularius) ὁ τὰ τῆς πόλεως γράφων συμβόλαια, ὁ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς νομικὸς λεγόμενος, ἄπαντα ἐπιτελῶν τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν γραμματεῖα, ἔκαστον αὐτῶν οἰκείους ἐπισφραγίζων γράμμασι.

<sup>1</sup> The γερών νομικός εἰς τὰ Σφορακίου in Scr. Incert. (Leo Gramm., ed. Bonu, p. 350) was one of these.

(11) The duty of the βουλλωταί was to mark with the bull or seal of the Prefect the weights, scales, measures, and sometimes the goods of the merchants and tradesmen. See ἐπαρχικον βιβλίον, viii. § 3.

(12) προστάται, heads of trade corporations; cp. above under (8). From the ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον we learn that the presidents of the σαπωνοπράται, λωροτόμοι, χοιρέμποροι, ίχθυοπράται, έργολάβοι, &c., had this title.

(13) καγκελλάριοι. See above under (5).

(14) For the παραθαλασσίτης, whose name connects his duties with the policing of the seashore, see Peira, li. 29 (οἱ δὲ πλέουσι τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ὑπόκεινται τῷ παραθαλασσίτη). His position here argues that in the time of Philotheos he was not an important official; but half a century later Liutprand (Ant. 3. 7) speaks of him as if he were one of the high dignitaries of the court. He is mentioned in  $\pi\epsilon\rho i$   $\tau\alpha\xi$ . 4614. On the occasion of the Cretan expedition A.D. 902 he was directed to arm 1,200 men (Cer. 660s). Uspenski compares the comes riparum and the comes portus who were under the Prefect of Rome.<sup>2</sup>

Another member of the officium, not included in this list, is mentioned by Philotheos 750<sub>8</sub> (as a guest in the Palace) ὁ λεγατάριος τοῦ πραιτωρίου. The ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον, c. xx, treats of this functionary and explains his duties, which consisted in supervising foreign merchants and inspecting their merchandise.3

## (2) δ κυαίστωρ.

The Quaestor sacri palatii survived the changes of time, but the range of his functions was altered and his official rank was lowered. In early times his chief duties were leges dictandae and preces. He had to draft the Imperial laws and deal with the petitions addressed to the Emperor. He was the chief legal authority in the state and the legal adviser of the government. Cp. Cass. Var. vi. 5 (formula quaesturae).4 The quaestor of the ninth century had a court of his own and extensive judicial functions.

1 ἀπὸ συνδόσεως τῶν αὐτῶν, Reiske ἀστῶν, from a contribution by the citizens.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Uspenski, op. cit. 97. There is no reason whatever for the suggestions that the λεγατάριοs is identical with the σύμπονος (Nicole) or with the λογ. τοῦ πραιτ. (Vogt, Basile Ier, 142).

<sup>4</sup> He used to assist in the appeal court of the Praetorian Prefect. Cp. Justinian, Nov. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Op. cit. 100. (See Not. Dig. Occ., iv. 6, 7.) Cp. Zachariä, op. cit. 373. See also M. Goudas, ή καταμέτρησις των έμπορικών πλοίων, in Βυζαντίς, I. 35 sqq. 1909. In the twelfth century there was a σέκρετον της θαλάσσης, and two parathalassitai are mentioned along with the notaries of this bureau, Miklosich-Müller Acta et Dipl. vi. 3, 124. (In Manuel Comnenus, Nov. 54, p. 537 eparcho parathalassite, should we not read eparchi?) Was Addaeus in Proc. H. A. c. 25 a parathalassites?

This change arose from the fact that the Quaestor of the Sacred Palace had taken over the duties of the new quaestor or quaesitor (ἐρευνητήs) who had been created by Justinian. The law which created the new office is Nov. 99.1 Here the official is called quaestor, but Procopius, H. A. 20 (p. 125), and Lydus, 2. 29 (p. 85), call him quaesitor (κυαισίτωρ); Lydus however also speaks of him and the Quaestor together as οἱ ἄμφω κυαίστορες (3. 20, p. 109). In Bas. vi. 6 they are treated as the same office; the compilers evidently did not realize that they were originally two. The section of the Epanagoge (5) on the quaestor merely reproduces Justinian's Novel. But it would be erroneous to draw the conclusion that the later Quaestor is simply the Quaesitor and that this old Quaestor was abolished. This is disproved by the Quaestor's officium, in which we find the αντιγραφήs, that is the old magistri s. scriniorum (see below), whose functions were closely associated with those of the Quaestor of the Sacred Palace. This proves the continuity, which is borne out by the fact that a eunuch could not hold the post of Quaestor, a circumstance pointing to its ancient associations and prestige.

For the functions of the Quaestor, derived from those of the Quaesitor, see Zachariä v. Lingenthal, op. cit. 368. They were of an administrative as well as judicial order: supervision of travellers and provincials visiting the capital; supervision of beggars; decision in the case of complaints of coloni or tenants against their landlords who resided in the capital; duty of punishing injustice in such cases; duty of reporting misconduct of magistrates to the Emperor; judging all cases of forgery. Besides these duties (imposed on the Quaesitor by Justinian) the Quaestor had others connected with wills and inheritances. All wills were sealed with his seal and opened in his presence; he had powers of supervision over the execution of wills, and especially over the administration of the property of minors.

The Quaestor ranks after the General Logothete both in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is entitled  $\pi$ ερὶ τάξεως καιαίστωρος καὶ τῶν βοηθῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀντιγραφέων. This title is obviously late. The law has nothing to do with the ἀντιγραφῆς, who are not mentioned in the text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> These formalities formerly devolved on the magister census (for whom see Böcking, Occ. 193-4). See Nov. 44 of Leo VI (cp. Peira, xiv. 11), Nov. 7 of Constantine VII (αἱ διαθῆκαι παρὰ τῷ κοιαίστωρι ἀνοίγονται, p. 258). The motive of transferring the duty to the quaestor (or quaesitor), after Justinian, may have been the competence of this minister in cases of forgery. See Zachariä, op. cit. 157. For the μάγιστρος τῶν κήνσων (in connexion with orphans) cp. Justinian, Nov. 151, p. 275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cp. Peira, xvi. 5. 13.

Taktikon Uspenski and in Philotheos.<sup>1</sup> For the ceremony of his creation see Cer. i. 54.

(1) The ἀντιγραφῆs (spathars, Phil. 752<sub>4</sub>; of inferior rank, Takt. Usp. 127, 128; in both texts, precede the σύμπονος and λογ. πραιτ.) are the old magistri scriniorum.<sup>2</sup> In the fifth century they were four in number (memoriae, epistolarum, libellorum, graecarum: Not. Dig. Or. xi and xix).<sup>3</sup> Their scrinia were sub dispositione of the Master of the Offices, not of the Quaestor, but the quaestor who had in former times no officium of his own made use of adiutores from the bureaux of the magistri (Not. Or. xii). In John Malalas 494<sub>8</sub> the ἀντιγραφῆς are mentioned along with the quaestor.<sup>4</sup> Their transference to the officium of the quaestor was probably connected with the abolition of the post of magister officiorum. In the Proem to the Ecloga of Leo III (τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους ὑπάτους καὶ ἀντιγραφεῖς, p. 3) they are associated with the quaestor [A.D. 740]. Cp. also George Mon. ed. Bonn. 749<sub>9</sub>.

The magister memoriae dealt with decisions made in the form of annotationes by the emperor on the margins or backs of documents presented to him; he also replied to petitions (preces). The magister epistolarum drew up the answers to communications from foreign powers and from the civitates of the empire; examined the questions propounded by officials (consultationes); and dealt with such petitions as were connected with his other duties. The magister libellorum dealt with the appeals to the emperor from lower courts and with petitions from parties to suits in such courts. The magister epistolarum Graecarum 'eas epistolas quae graece solent emitti aut ipse dictat aut latine dictatas transfert in graecum' (Not. Dig. Or., xix. 13).

It is clear that the duties of the magistri epistolarum connected them more closely with the magister officiorum, while those of the two other magistri associated them with the quaestor. All four had the right of direct access to the emperor, but the functions of the

<sup>1</sup> He comes last among the officials who have Patrician rank in the Acta of the 6th General Council, A. d. 680, Mansi, xi. 209 Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων πατρικίου καὶ κοιαίστωρος.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mommsen, 482. Peter Patr. fr. 14 ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς μνήμης. Suidas sub ᾿Αδριανός, ἀντ. τῶν ἐπιστολῶν (see also Procop., B. P. 2. 23, H. A. 14; Justinian, Nov. 10, 113, 124, 133, 1). Cp. Bury, Magistri scriniorum (see Bibliography).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I do not include the *comes dispositionum* who was under the Master of Offices; he was not one of the magistri scriniorum. He superintended the programme of the emperor's daily movements.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> We meet an ἀντιγραφεύς in Chron. Pasch., s. a. 605, p. 973. Cp. also Menander, fr. 6, p. 248 εἶς τῶν βασιλείων διαιτητῶν οῦς δἢ ἀντιγραφέας ἀποκαλέσοις.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For fuller explanation see Karlowa, i. 834 sq.

magister memoriae would naturally bring him into most frequent contact with the sovran.

As Greek became the official language of the empire, the necessity of a second magister epistolarum was less cogent, though so long as Africa (throughout the seventh century) and the Exarchate of Italy (till the middle of the eighth) were held, there must have been some provision for Latin.

The abolition of the Master of Offices involved a change in the position of the scrinia. What seems to have happened was this. The magister memoriae remained an independent minister under the Greek name  $\delta \epsilon \pi l \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \epsilon \hat{\eta} \sigma \epsilon \omega \nu$  (see below), while the magister libellorum and the magister epistolarum (now Greek) along with their scrinia were subordinated to the quaestor. That one of the quaestor's  $\delta \nu \tau \iota \gamma \rho a \phi \hat{\eta} s$  was the mag. lib. is supported by the occurrence of the  $\lambda \iota \beta \epsilon \lambda \iota \sigma \iota \sigma s$  (see below) in his officium. That there were two  $\delta \nu \tau \iota \gamma \rho a \phi \hat{\eta} s$  in the ninth and tenth centuries seems a probable inference from a passage in the ceremony of their investiture, Cer. 274,  $\kappa \delta \nu \tau \epsilon \delta s \delta \sigma \tau \iota \kappa \delta \nu \tau \epsilon \delta \delta \sigma o \delta \sigma s$ 

- (2) The σκρίβαs of the quaestor is mentioned in a constitution of Constantine VII (Nov. vii, p. 259). We may conjecture that he descends from the scriba of the magister census, who in the fifth century was subordinate to the Prefect of the City (Not. Dig. Occ. iv). This official, whom Lydus describes as ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχετύπων συμβολαίων, had a scriba, instead of a notarius, in his scrinium (σκρίβαν μὲν ἐκείνφ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπογραφέα ὑπηρετεῖσθαι, Lydus, 2. 30). This identification is borne out by the circumstance that the functions of the magister census in connexion with the sealing and opening of wills were transferred to the quaestor (see above), and we know the σκρίβαs represented the quaestor in looking after the interests of minors (Nov. 7, c. 3, of Constantine, vii, p. 259).
- (3) The  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega\rho$ , evidently = exceptor, must descend from the exceptores <sup>2</sup> of the sacra scrinia. In these scrinia the officials were (1) proximus, (2) melloproximus, (3) exceptores, (4) memoriales or epistolares or libellenses (respectively). The  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega\rho$  had doubtless a number of clerks under him who performed duties similar to those of the exceptores, copying documents and writing from dictation. In Const. Porph., Nov. vii, c. 2 the quaestor is said to have two  $vo\tau\acute{a}\rho\iota\omega\iota^3$ : Zachariä (op. cit. 368) suggests that they are the  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega\rho$  and  $\lambda\iota\beta\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\prime\sigma\iota\sigma$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Vita Steph. iun. Migne P. G. 100, 1140 we meet Κομβοκόνωνα τὸν ἀντιγραφέα.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri, i, p. 91 (A.D. 295) ἐκσκέπ(τορσι).

<sup>3</sup> Peira, xiv. 11 οἱ νοτάριοι τοῦ κοιαιστώριου, li. 21 τοῦ νοταρίου αὐτοῦ (sc. quaestoris).

c. 9, p. 286).

(5, 6) The πρωτοκαγκελλάριοι was under spathar rank, Phil. 738<sub>7</sub>. The καγκελλάριοι are mentioned in the above-cited Novel of Constantine VII, where, as in Cer. 269<sub>3</sub> (τοὺς ἀντιγραφέας καὶ καγκελλαρίους), the πρωτοκαγκελλάριος is obviously included. The domesticus of the quaestor's cancellarii is once mentioned, Cer. 11<sub>25</sub>. The cancellarii used to recite Latin chants at the procession of the emperors to St. Sophia (ib. and c. 74, p. 369), perhaps because they were supposed to have some acquaintance with Latin.

The seal in Schlumberger, Sig. 578, of a chartularius and protonotarius of the quaestorium is of later date than our period.

## (3) δ επί των δεήσεων.

In Takt. Usp. 123 he is of spathar rank; in Phil. 729, 732 he may be ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος οτ πρωτοσπαθάριος. It was obligatory for him (κατὰ τύπον) to accompany the Emperor when he made excursions by sea in the neighbourhood of Constantinople (De adm. imp. 234).

It may only be an accident, whether of his own or of a copyist, that the officium of the  $\partial \pi \partial \tau \partial \nu \partial \epsilon \eta \sigma \epsilon \omega \nu$  is omitted in the list of Philotheos; but it may well be that he had no officium (except clerks). If he had one, we have no materials for reconstructing it. Philotheos twice mentions an official whose name appears in the MS. as

¹ Cp. Nicephorus Phocas, Nov. 22, p. 299 ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Βασίλειος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων.

δεκσογράφφ, 758<sub>20</sub>, and δεκσωγράφφ, 774<sub>4</sub>. Reiske proposed to read δεησογράφφ. This form seems impossible; we should have to go further and write δεησιγράφφ. But even if an emendation of this kind were accepted, it is not probable that the official in question was connected with the  $\frac{2}{3}\pi^2 \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$  δεήσεων. He is quite mysterious. In both passages he is named next the aktuarios and οἱ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ παραστάται.

In the provinces there were officials subordinate to the minister for petitions. Schlumberger (Sig. 493) has published the seal (eighth or ninth century) of an  $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\hat{\iota}$   $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\delta\epsilon\hat{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\omega\nu$   $\Sigma\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\hat{\iota}as$ . There are some other seals which probably belong to the minister himself. Schlumberger, Mél. 265 (eighth or ninth century), of Basil,  $\beta\alpha\sigma$ .  $\sigma\pi\alpha\theta$ . and  $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\hat{\iota}$   $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\delta\epsilon\eta\sigma\hat{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  (cp. also Mél. 269); Panchenko, 8. 220 (tenth or ninth century)  $K\omega\nu\sigma[\tau a\nu]\tau\hat{\iota}\nu\omega$   $[\beta(a\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\hat{\omega})]$   $a'[\sigma\pi]a\theta a\rho\hat{\iota}\omega$   $\kappa\hat{\alpha}\hat{\iota}$   $[\hat{\epsilon}\pi]\hat{\iota}$   $\tau(\hat{\omega})\nu$   $\delta\epsilon\hat{\eta}[\sigma\epsilon]\omega\nu$ , 9. 394 (ninth or eighth century)  $Ba\sigma\iota\lambda\hat{\eta}\omega$   $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\delta\epsilon\hat{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\omega(\nu)$   $\kappa\epsilon\phi$ ., where Panchenko proposes  $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\hat{\eta}$ ; but we should obviously read  $K\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\hat{a}$ ; Basileios Kephalas was the name of the person.

#### ΙΥ. σεκρετικοί.

As all the officials of this section, except the Logothete of the Course (4) and the Chief Secretary (7), are connected with financial administration, it will be convenient to discuss here as a whole the troublesome but important question of the origin and nature of the financial bureaux which existed in the ninth century. One of our greatest difficulties in understanding and estimating the policy of the later Roman Emperors lies in our ignorance of the machinery of the financial administration. The chroniclers notice financial measures rarely and briefly, but do not explain the details in such a way as to let us see how they operated and how they were carried out. Official documents are few. Even for the earlier period, from Constantine to Justinian, though we have much information about the raising of the revenue and the methods of taxation, we have very little about the expenditure and how it was divided among the several treasuries.

Under the system of Constantine there were two great financial ministries, unconnected and independent. These were the fisc, under the comes sacrarum largitionum ( $\kappa \delta \mu \eta s \tau \delta \nu \theta \epsilon (\omega \nu \theta \eta \sigma a \nu \rho \delta \nu)$ ), and the res privata under the comes rei privata ( $\kappa . \tau \delta \nu \theta \epsilon (\omega \nu \pi \rho \iota \beta \delta \tau \omega \nu)$  or  $\tau \delta \epsilon (\delta \nu \tau a \mu \epsilon \delta \nu)$ ). Besides these two principal and independent treasuries there were also the chests of the Praetorian Prefects, to which part of the fiscal revenue was diverted and from which the army was paid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the praefectoria area in the fifth century cp. C. Th., 11. 9. 17 (where it is distinguished from utrumque nostrum aerarium = s. larg. and res priv.). For the

In the sixth century, if not earlier, the Praetorian Prefect of the East had two distinct chests, or at least two distinct accounts, which are designated as the  $\gamma \epsilon \nu \iota \kappa \dot{\eta}$  and the  $\iota \delta \iota \kappa \dot{\eta} \tau \rho \dot{\alpha} \pi \epsilon \zeta a$  in laws of Justinian and Justin II.<sup>1</sup> We do not know the nature of the distinction.

Besides the res privata there was another administration of the same kind, the divina domus per Cappadociam, which was under the control of the praepositus sacri cubiculi, and was administered through his subordinate, entitled comes domorum per Cappadociam 2 (κόμης τῶν οἰκιῶν, Justinian, Nov. 46. 2). We meet in Novels of Justinian 3 δ θείος οίκος distinguished from τὰ θεία πριβάτα and τὸ θείον πατριμώνιον, and as these laws do not refer to Cappadocia but to the provinces of Arabia and Phoenicia Libanensis, it would seem that the domus divinae, which were under the comes r. priv. (Not. Dig., Or. xiv. 3), had been detached from the res privata and joined with the dom. div. per Capp. as a separate administration. Now in A.D. 566 we find, instead of the περίβλεπτος κόμης των ολκιών, α μεγαλοπρεπέστατος κουράτωρ τῶν οἰκιῶν. This is more than a change of name. We can infer that the div. dom. per Capp. has been withdrawn from the praepositus (otherwise he must have been mentioned in the context, in which all the ministers who had financial charges are enumerated) and, with the other domus divinae, placed under a Curator.

Another financial administration, named the sacrum patrimonium (τὸ θεῖον πατριμώνιον), was instituted by Anastasius I about the end of the fifth century. We may doubt whether there was any distinction in principle between this sacrum patrimonium, which was called ἡ ἰδικὴ κτῆσις, and the res privata, which was called ἡ ἰδικὴ περιονσία. The word κτῆσις (not κτήματα) might suggest that the res privata had become so large, through landed property falling to the state, that Anastasius placed under the control of a new minister recent acquisitions and all that should be acquired in the future. It is doubtful whether the expressions of Lydus really signalize an important principle of distinction between the two offices. It is to be observed that the organization of the office of chest of the Pref. of Illyricum cp. Justinian, Nov. 163, p. 351; Justin II, Nov. 1, p. 4. The officials of the Prefect's area are called ἀρκάριοι, Justinian, ib., 96, p. 542; 163, p. 353.

1 Justinian, ib. 96. 9, p. 536 προνοείν της είσπράξεως των δημοσίων φόρων των είς έκατέραν τράπεζαν είσφερομένων τοῦ δικαστηρίου της σης ύπεροχης, τη τε ίδικη τη τε γενικη, also 11, 12, &c. Justin II, Nov. 1, p. 4. Cp. Lydus, 3. 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> C. I., 12. 24. 3; 3. 26. 11; 12. 5. 2.

<sup>3 53,</sup> p. 357; 55, pp. 366-7. Also ή ήμετέρα οἰκία, 158. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Justin II, Nov. 1, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> C. I., 1. 34. 1; Lydus, 2. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Ιδ. κόμιτα πριβάτων ἀντὶ τοῦ των ιδία πως τοις βασιλεῦσι προσηκόντων, and δ

the Patrimony was an exact copy of the office of the res privata (κατὰ μίμησιν—αὐτὴν διοικῶν, C. I., 1. 34. 1, where it is also enacted that the officials of both shall have the same privileges).

In the sixth century, then, there were (omitting Africa and Italy from consideration) seven independent treasuries. (1) The fisc (largitiones); (2) the two τράπεζαι of the Praetorian Prefect of the East; (3) the chest of the Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum; to which must be added (4) the chest of the Justinianean quaestor of Moesia and Scythia (Justin II, Nov. 1, p. 4). These four coffers were replenished by the general taxation of the Empire. (5) Res privata; (6) sacrum patrimonium; (7) domus divinae; three treasuries deriving their revenue from the Imperial estates.

When we come down to the ninth century we find a variety of bureaux with a new nomenclature: the γενικόν, σακέλλιον, στρατιωτικόν, βεστιάριον, μεγάλη κουρατωρεία, ἀγέλαι, στάβλον, είδικόν. Of these the γενικόν corresponds to the sacrae largitiones. The στρατιωτικόν fulfils the functions of the arcae of the Praet. Prefects so far as military finance is concerned. The μέγας κουράτωρ is the descendant of the κουράτωρ τῶν οἰκιῶν of the sixth century. The βεστιάριον is the old vestiarium sacrum which used to be under the control of the comes s. larg. (Not. Dig., Or. xiii. 28), and has become an independent office. The ἀγέλαι and στάβλον are the greges and stabula which used to be under the comes r. priv. The εἰδικόν is concerned with the statefactories which used to be under the magister officiorum and the comes s. larg. All these offices will be discussed in detail below.

More may be said here about the σακέλλιον, because an important change is involved. σάκελλα or σακέλλιον means purse, and σακελλάριος keeper of a purse. The Patriarch had a sakellarios (cp. e.g. Chron. Pasch. 697, sub A. d. 607), and we hear of the sakellarios of a 'strategos' of Numidia (Acta Maximi, Migne, P. G., 90. 112).¹ Now the Emperors, manifestly, must always have had a private purse (apart from the treasuries of the res privata and s. largitiones), and an official in charge of it. Such an official, if he were mentioned in

λεγόμενος πατριμώνιος ἀντὶ τοῦ φύλαξ τῆς ἰδία πως ἀνηκούσης τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τυχὸν ἐκ προγόνων περιουσίας. The last clause does suggest a distinction, and also perhaps the use of τοῖς βασιλεῦσι in one case, and τῷ βασιλεῦ in the other. Pamphronios in Menander, fr. 8 (A. d. 561) προεστῶτα τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλέως περιουσίας, was presumably com. r. priv.

<sup>1</sup> A σακκελλάριοs is mentioned in a papyrus of seventh century, published in Wessely's Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats, no. 992, p. 174 (1908) and in the early Arab period σάκελλα is used apparently for the central treasury of that province; e. g. Pap. Brit. Mus. iv, no. 1336 (A. D. 709) ἀπὸ τῆs σ., no. 1412 (A. D. 710) εἶs τὴν σ.

the Notitia Dignitatum at all, would have appeared in the officium of the Praepositus—where there is an unfortunate lacuna in our texts. The Sakellarios first appears as a prominent official, under this name, at the beginning of the seventh century; but he seems to be mentioned in the sixth under the periphrasis  $\tau a\mu las \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \beta a\sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu \chi \rho \eta \mu \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu$  (see below under  $\sigma a\kappa \epsilon \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota os$ ). I infer that the  $\sigma a\kappa \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \iota o\nu$  and  $\sigma a\kappa \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota os$  had long existed, but that in the sixth and seventh centuries they begin to emerge from comparative obscurity into administrative importance.

Now it is to be observed that in the seventh century, while the Sakellarios is ascending in rank and prominence, we cease to hear of the comes rei privatae. In the ninth century we find no single department which can be pointed to as simply the old res privata with a new name. The management of the res priv. and the  $\theta \epsilon \hat{i} o i$ oîkoi seems to be divided between two departments, that of the σακέλλιον and that of the Great Curator—the general administration of the estates being presumably under the latter, and the revenue being dealt with by the σακέλλιον. We may conjecture that this new arrangement, which led to the disappearance of the comes r. p., and also of the comes s. patrimonii, came about in the seventh century. The administrative importance which the Sakellarios possessed in the reign of Justinian II, when he must have had a bureau of officials under him, points to this conclusion. The imperial estates—res priv., s. patr., and θείοι οἶκοι—were placed under the control of the Sakellarios and the Curator (κουράτωρ τῶν οἰκιῶν), the former acting as Receiver, the latter as High Steward. We may suspect that this change may have been partly due to the loss of the Imperial estates in Syria and Egypt.

This development was an intelligible consequence of the connexion which we may reasonably assume to have existed between the sakellion and the revenue of the Imperial estates in the fifth and sixth centuries. We may take it that the sakellion was the receptacle of the net profit arising from the Imperial estates. The treasuries of the s. largitiones and the Praetorian Prefects provided for the standing expenses of the government—army, civil service, &c.—and it is highly improbable that any money was diverted from these sources into the Emperor's sakellion. We may assume that, when the treasuries of the Private Estate, the Patrimony, and the Divine Houses had paid the expenses of administration, and perhaps certain standing charges which were allocated to them, the net annual profits were deposited in the sakellion, which not only supplied the Emperor with money for his personal expenses, but also provided for extraordinary

and irregular outlay, such as on wars, buildings, &c. The large accumulations which were made by the parsimony of Anastasius I were doubtless stored in the sakellion.

It is to be noticed that the res privata was itself a spending department. Its expenditure was known as the largitiones privatae, for which there was a special scrinium. This bureau must have been incorporated in the new organization of the Sakellion in the seventh century.

Another change of great importance was subsequently made in the financial administration. In the ninth century the head of the Sakellion is no longer the Sakellarios, but the χαρτουλάριος τοῦ | σακελλίου. It is evident that this functionary was originally one of the chief subordinates of the Sakellarios, but he has become the minister in charge of the department. The Sakellarios himself has not disappeared; he has been exalted to a new position. He has no special officium of his own, but he exercises a general control over all the financial bureaux and is superior to all the financial ministers. In the words of Philotheos, 'he supervises what is done in each bureau (σέκρετου) by the written reports of his own notary.' This is a fact of the highest importance, which has escaped notice. It places the later financial system in a new light. There was in the ninth century a general and methodical control exercised over all the offices which dealt with finance or administered the sources of revenue, and this control, which was not only a check on malversation but helped to mitigate the disadvantage of not having a single central exchequer, was an innovation and improvement on the Constantinian system. We cannot determine whether this arrangement was due to the Heraclians or to the Isaurians. Under the Heraclians, considerable changes were made in financial administration. The sakellarios first becomes prominent in the reign of Heraclius himself. Under his dynasty the comes s. larg. disappears and his place is taken by the Logothete of the Genikon. The Logothete of the Stratiotikon appears under Constantine IV, and was probably created either by Heraclius or by Constantine II. But it seems not unlikely that the Sakellarios under the Heraclians remained simply the minister of the Sakellion, and that his later office, as General Comptroller, was an innovation of the Isaurian period when the various administrative changes which had come about in the previous century were systematized and developed. It may be added that on general grounds it seems probable that the Sakellion, as a treasury, not as a department, was in the keeping of the sakellarios.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Not. Dig., Occ. xii. 4.

The heads of most of the later financial bureaux were entitled logothetes, or chartularies.  $\lambda o y o \theta \epsilon \eta s$  is the word which in early times was used to render rationalis, and in the Constantinian system the rationales were all financial subordinates of the great financial ministers.1 The chartularies were much lower in the scale; they were clerks in the various scrinia, and so we hear little about them. Notitia Dignitatum does not enumerate the members of the scrinia. At that time, however, the head of a scrinium under the Castrensis bore the title of Chartularius (Not. Dig., Or. xvii. 10; Occ. xv. 11). The rise of the chartularii to importance is a subject which deserves a special investigation, but it lies outside my present scope. I will only note the schola chartulariorum in the officium of the Praetorian Prefect of Africa, as organized by Justinian (C. I. 1. 27.1)2; the importance of the three Chartularies of the Cubiculum (Justinian, Nov. 16)3; the distinction drawn between ἄρχοντες χαρτουλαρικοί and στρατιωτικοί by Peter the Patrician (Cer. 92, p. 418)4; the evidence of Lydus (iii. 17, 18, 20, 27); and the Italian material in the letters of Gregory the Great and the Liber Pontificalis (reviewed by Diehl).5 The original function of the chartularii, from which they derived their name, was probably to keep and register chartae-receipts, dockets, &c., connected with the financial business of the bureau to which they belonged. The registers, e.g. containing the debts to the fisc were called chartae, cp. C. Th. 11. 28. 2; 6 (chartis quibus debita publica continentur), 12, &c.

A word may be said about the term  $\sigma \epsilon \kappa \rho \epsilon \tau \sigma v = s \bar{\epsilon} c r \bar{\epsilon} t u m$  (the long vowels are preserved in  $\dot{\alpha} \sigma \eta \kappa \rho \hat{\eta} \tau \iota s$ ). Hesychius (s.v.) explains it as  $\kappa \sigma \nu \sigma \iota \sigma \tau \omega \rho \iota \sigma \nu$ , and in C. Th. 6. 35. 7, we find intra consistorii secreta of notaries. Cp. Cass. Var. 6, 16 principis secretum et consilium. Also in Theoph. Sim. 8, 8, 9, the Emperor Maurice, having given an audience to Germanos,  $\mu \epsilon \theta \iota \sigma \tau a \tau a \tau \sigma \hat{\sigma} \tau a \rho \hat{\sigma} \epsilon \nu \omega \epsilon \nu \rho \epsilon \nu \nu$ . It appears from these passages that originally  $\sigma \epsilon \kappa \rho \epsilon \tau \sigma \nu \nu$  meant the Imperial Consistorium or Council, and the precincts in which it met.

<sup>4</sup> L'exarchat de Ravenne, 154-5. Cp. also the chartarii in Cass. Var. 7. 43

(apparently of the comes patrimonii, cp. 8. 23).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Andreas,  $\delta$  ἀπὸ λογοθετῶν, became Prefect of the City in A. D. 563, Theoph.  $239_8$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Cp. also the chartularii numerorum militarium, C. I. 12. 37. 19. Cp. too Justinian, Nov. 141, p. 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cp. also ib., p.  $404_{15}$ ,  $\tau o \dot{\nu} s \chi$ .  $\tau \dot{\omega} \nu \beta a \rho \beta \dot{a} \rho \omega \nu$ , and  $405_{18}$ . For chart. in the scrin. fabr. of the mag. off. see Justinian, Nov. 108, p. 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cp. Chron. Pasch. 703, sub A. D. 612: Philaretos was one of these chartularii. For a seal of a σπαθάριος καὶ χαρτουλάριος, seventh or eighth century, see Panchenko, 8. 225.

In these precincts the notarii (who were under the primicerius not., Not. Dig., Or. xvii) discharged their duties. This early meaning of the term explains the usage in the Ceremonial Book of Constantine, in describing some of the court solemnities: e.g. Cer. 218<sub>10</sub> καὶ καθεσθέντων τῶν δεσποτῶν, δέχονται τὸ σέκρετον, viz. magistri, patricians, &c., successively according to rank. When the reception is over εξέρχεται τὸ σέκρετον, except the patricians who ἴστανται κονσιστώριον. (This latter phrase is frequent in the ceremonies: since the Consistorium had coalesced with the Synkletos, κονσιστώριον ceased to be used except in a ceremonial sense 1 with ἴστασθαι, 'stand in attendance'.) Again 226<sub>12</sub> τὸ σέκρετον ὅλον, 212<sub>6</sub> τὸ σ. τῶν ὑπάτων, 616<sub>10</sub> τὸ σ. τῶν συγκλητικῶν (and 618<sub>18</sub> of official ladies received by the Empress).

In C. Th. 6. 35. 7, the officials of the scrinia (sacra), of the finance bureaux, of the castrensis, &c., are distinguished from the notaries of the secreta. But the term  $\sigma \epsilon \kappa \rho \epsilon \tau \sigma \nu$  in time became extended to all or most of the bureaux in which the work was chiefly secretarial and clerical, and all their officials were called  $\sigma \epsilon \kappa \rho \epsilon \tau \iota \kappa \sigma \iota$ . Philotheos confines the term to a certain number of such offices, but it was also used in a wider sense, covering most of the offices in classes III, V-VII, as appears from Cer. 527, cp. esp. 1. 21, where the  $\tilde{\nu} \pi a \rho \chi \sigma s$  is distinctly classed as a  $\sigma \epsilon \kappa \rho \epsilon \tau \iota \kappa \dot{\sigma} s$ . (Compare also 575<sub>10</sub>, 12, 608<sub>10</sub>, 698<sub>18</sub>, 524<sub>14</sub>.)

The offices (σέκρετα) of the σεκρετικοί in the restricted meaning were in the Palace.

## (1) δ σακελλάριος.

In the reign of Heraclius we meet Theodore, a financial functionary termed  $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \delta s$   $\sigma a \kappa \epsilon \lambda \lambda \delta \rho \iota \sigma s$  by Theophanes (A.D. 635; 337<sub>23</sub>, 338<sub>3</sub>). In the reign of Constans II a sakellarios conducted the examination of the Abbot Maximus (τ $\hat{\varphi}$   $\sigma a \kappa \epsilon \lambda \lambda a \rho \iota \varphi$   $\tau \rho \phi \tau \varphi$   $\tau \dot{\eta} \nu$   $\delta \xi \iota a \nu \tau \nu \gamma \chi \dot{\alpha} \nu \nu \tau \iota$ , Acta Maximi, Migne, P. G. 90, 88, 112, 113). Under Justinian II the office was held by the notorious and influential Stephen (Theoph. 367<sub>15</sub>).

This functionary also appears in our records under another description,  $\tau a\mu i as \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \beta a \sigma i \lambda i \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu \chi \rho \eta \mu \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu$ . The equation of this expression with  $\sigma a \kappa \epsilon \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota os$  results from three data. Nicephorus in his Chronicle

Also, of course, τὸ μέγα κ., a hall in the palace.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Abbot Maximus addressed a letter (c. a.d. 629) πρὸς Κωνσταντίνον σακέλλάριον (Ep. 24, Migne, 91, 608), but he may have been an ecclesiastical, or a local, sakellarios.

applies it (1) to Theodore ( $23_{12}$ ) and (2) to Stephen ( $37_{13}$ ), whom, as we have seen, Theophanes designates as sakellarioi. He also (3) applies it to Leontios ( $5_6$ , A.D. 609), who is described as  $\delta$   $\delta \pi \delta \sigma \alpha \kappa \epsilon \lambda \lambda \alpha \rho l \omega \nu$  in Chron. Pasch. 701, sub A.D. 610. Hence we can infer that Philagrios, to whom he applies the same title ( $28_{12}$ ), was Sakellarios in A.D. 640.

The equation also enables us to trace the Sakellarios in the sixth century. For Agathias (3. 2, p. 140) designates Rusticus (who was sent by Justinian with money to the army in Lazica) as  $\tau a\mu las \tau \hat{\omega}\nu$   $\beta a\sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \hat{\omega}\nu \chi \rho \eta \mu \acute{\alpha}\tau \omega \nu$ , and explains où  $\mu \dot{\eta}\nu \tau \hat{\omega}\nu \grave{\epsilon}\kappa \tau \hat{\eta}s \delta a\sigma \mu o \phi o \rho (as \grave{\epsilon}\rho a\nu \iota \zeta o \mu \acute{\epsilon}\nu \omega \nu)$  (i. e. he was not comes s. larg.), ἀλλὰ  $\tau \hat{\omega}\nu \delta \sigma a \grave{\epsilon}\kappa \tau \hat{\omega}\nu \delta \sigma a \iota \lambda \epsilon \iota \omega \nu \delta \eta \sigma a \nu \rho \hat{\omega}\nu \grave{\epsilon}\kappa \tau \hat{\omega}\nu \delta \mu \phi \epsilon \iota$ . Rusticus was Sakellarios.

The history of the Sakellarios, so far as our meagre records enable us to discern it, has been traced above. At first he was simply the keeper of the Emperor's sakellion or treasury which received the surplus derived from the Imperial estates. In the seventh century, he took over the more specially financial functions of the ministers who managed the estates, and the Sakellion became an important ministry. As a treasury it was no longer merely the receptacle of a reserve fund for extraordinary expenses, but bore some of the regular state expenses. The Proem to the Ecloga of Leo III orders payments to be made  $\partial \kappa \tau o \hat{v} \sigma \epsilon \beta o \hat{v} \delta \gamma \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma a \kappa \kappa \epsilon \lambda \lambda lo \nu$  to the quaestor, the  $\partial \nu \tau \nu \rho a \phi \hat{\eta} s$ , &c. The third stage is reached when, probably in the eighth century, the Sakellarios (doubtless retaining the charge of the treasury) becomes a sort of Comptroller, with authority over all the financial ministries, while his place as head of the bureau of the Sakellion is taken by the  $\chi a \rho \tau \nu \nu \lambda \dot{\alpha} \rho \nu s \sigma \kappa \kappa \lambda \lambda \lambda \nu v$ .

The Taktikon Uspenski (p. 111) attests the importance <sup>2</sup> of the office of Sakellarios in the reign of Michael III by placing him at the head of all the officials of the Empire, not only the civil but also the military. But this position in the hierarchy depended on the order of rank of the man who held it, and the Sakellarios appears again in this document immediately after the Domestic of the Excubitors and before the General Logothete. In the list of Philotheos, he comes immediately after the stratêgoi of the western themes and before the General Logothete. However his place might vary in the scale as a whole, he had precedence over all the other

chosen because he was on friendly terms with Theodore.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In George Mon. 842<sub>22</sub> (ed. Bonn), τοῦ σακελλίου doubtless means χαρτ. τοῦ σακ.
<sup>2</sup> Leo, who was sakellarios with Patrician rank under Michael II, was employed by him to negotiate with Theodore of Studion and the Image worshippers in A. D. 824, Theod. Stud. Ep. ii. 129 (Migne, P. G. 99). He may have been

cabinet officials ( $\sigma \epsilon \kappa \rho \epsilon \tau \iota \kappa o l$ ). Under Basil I the office was held by Baanes, patrician and praepositus ( $\pi \epsilon \rho l \tau a \xi$ , 503).

The importance of the Sakellarios as General Comptroller of the bureaux dealing with finance has been emphasized already (p. 82). The expression of Philotheos  $\dot{\nu}\pi o \tau \dot{\epsilon} \tau a \kappa \tau a \dot{\delta} \phi \phi \dot{\epsilon} \kappa a$  is perhaps to be confined to the financial offices; it may not have extended e.g. to the  $\sigma \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \rho \epsilon \tau o \nu$  of the protoasecretis. Philotheos mentions his notary, which obviously implies notaries, and he had also mandatores at his special disposal (Cer. 698<sub>18</sub>).

See further Cer. 525, 572, 606,  $\pi\epsilon\rho \lambda$   $\tau\alpha\xi$ . 471 (where he acts with the  $\epsilon\lambda\delta\iota\kappa\delta$ ).

On the few extant seals of Sakellarioi, the office is generally combined with the rank of protospatharios. See Panchenko, 9. 385 (No. 269: ninth-tenth century); Schlumberger, Sig. 580.4

## (2) ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ.

The title comes sacrarum largitionum vanishes in the seventh century. The latest ministers whom we meet bearing the title are Theodore, under Tiberius II (Menander, fr. 46), Athanasius in A.D. 605 (Chr. Pasch. 973), Anastasius in A.D. 608-9 (Theoph. 297<sub>20</sub>). The title λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ (often briefly designated ὁ γενικός) first occurs in the reign of Justinian II (Theodotos, Niceph. Patr. 37<sub>19</sub>; Sergius, Theoph. 365<sub>24</sub>, A.D. 692). It is possible, however, that it had come in long before, for in A.D. 626 (Chr. Pasch. 721) we meet Theodosius ὁ ἐνδοζότατος πατρίκιος καὶ λογοθέτης (evidently a high post). The γενικὸν λογοθέσιον had generally the same functions

1 ὁ Λυδὸς σακ. in Niketas, Vit. Ign., Mansi, xvi. 281, was sac. of the Patriarch.

In a charter of A. D. 1088 (Miklosich-Müller, Acta et Dipl., vi. 57), we meet a βασιλικός νοτάριος τοῦ σεκρέτου τοῦ σακελλαρίου, κριτὴς καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων. Cp. ib. 120 (A. D. 1186) τὸ σέκρετον τοῦ μεγάλου σακελλαρίου.

3 In later times (twelfth century) the Sakellarios was called ὁ μέγας σ.: Miklosich-Müller, Acta et diplomata, vi. 120 (A. D. 1186), τὸ σέκρετον τοῦ μεγαλοῦ σ. Cp. 57 (A. D. 1088) βασιλικὸς νοτάριος τοῦ σεκρέτου τοῦ σακ. This volume of Miklosich-Müller contains important material for the financial offices in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

A seal of Ioannes πρωτοσπαθαρίω ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου κοιτῶνος καὶ βασιλικ ς σακελλαρίω is published by Schlumberger, Sig. 526. He ascribes it to the time of the Comneni, and at the same time attributes it to Ioannes, a eunuch who was

sakellarios under Irene in the eighth century.

<sup>5</sup> The patrician Constantine Lardys is described as λογοθέτης, and ex-Praetorian-Prefect in Chron. Pasch. 694 (a. d. 602). Theophylactus Simocatta (8. 9. 6) says: τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν φόρων τῆς έψας πρό τινος καιροῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀπειλήφει, ὁν ἔπαρχον πραιτωρίων εἰώθασιν ὀνομάζειν 'Ρωμαῖοι. But for the statement in Chron. Pasch., these words would naturally be taken to mean that he was still Fraet. Pref. It looks as if λογοθέτης must mean here com. s. larg.

as the ministry of the sacrae largitiones; it surveyed and collected the taxation of the Empire. Some departments indeed were withdrawn from the Logothete's control, especially the vestiarium which became an independent bureau. For early seals of λογοθέται γενικοί see Schlumberger, Sig. 530 No. 1, 531 No. 10.

- (1) The χαρτουλάριοι μεγάλοι τοῦ σεκρέτου (below spathar rank Takt. Usp. 127; spathars Phil. 735<sub>13</sub>) probably were the heads of a number of different departments or scrinia. Many of the same scrinia which existed in the officium of the comes largitionum must have continued down to later times. They are enumerated in the Not. Dig., Or. xiii (canonum, aureae massae, &c.). Their chiefs were then called primicerii.²
- (2) χαρτουλαριοι τῶν ἀρκλῶν, also called οἱ ἔξω χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ γενικοῦ (Cer. 694<sub>18</sub>), where ἔξω shows that they functioned in the provinces. τῶν ἀρκλῶν suggests that they may have taken the place of the praepositi thesaurorum of the Notitia. This, however, is by no means certain. But they cannot be identified with the chartularii de cohortalibus officiis uniusque provinciae, mentioned in a constitution of Leo I (C. I. 10. 23. 3, A.D. 468) as revising taxes, for these are evidently mere clerks. There is an interesting seal (of a later period, tenth-eleventh century) in Panchenko, 13, 129, of Eustathios, spatharocandidatus, who was (at the same time, apparently) βασιλικὸς τοῦ γενικοῦ λογοθεσίου χαρτουλάριος and πρωτουστάριος τῶν ἀνατολικῶν. In the latter capacity he was subordinate to the Chartulary of the Sakellion (see below).
- (3) The ἐπόπται τῶν θεμάτων were the provincial tax-controllers. Cp. Cont. Th. 346, Schlumberger, Sig. 513. The ἐξισωταί seem to have been different from the ἐπόπται. The two names are closely associated in Cont. Th., loc. cit., but they are enumerated distinctly in Alexius Comn., Nov. 30 (Zach., p. 374). [The seal of Michael Kamateros, ἐξισωτὴς τῆς Δύσεως (end of twelfth century, Sig. 516) is hardly relevant.]
- (4) The functions of the κόμητες ὑδάτων must have been connected with the aqueducts, probably not in Constantinople but in all parts of the Empire. Cp. the comes formarum, under the Prefect of Rome in Not. Dig., Occ. iv. 4.

The curious seal, published by Panchenko 13. 124, is too uncertain to build on. He ascribes it to the first half of the seventh century, and restores [']ωάννου ἐνδοξο[τ(άτου)? ἀπ]ὸ ὑπ(άτων) πατρικ(ί)[ου λο]γοθέ(του) βασιλ(ικῶν) [ἀ?]ρκα[ρίω]ν. If ἀρκαρίων is right, J. was a rationalis under the Praetorian Prefect.

<sup>2</sup> For the σέκρετον of the Log. Gen. in the eleventh century see Miklosich-Müller, op. cit. vi. 50, 54-5, where μεγάλοι χαρτουλάριοι and λογαριασταί are mentioned; cp. his λογαριαστής and νοτάριοι in Alex. Comn. Nov. 34, p. 398.

- (5) δ οἰκιστικός. The name of this official is rightly given in Phil. 7892, but appears as δ κιστικός in the list of officia and in 7367. The true form is shown by two seals of the Commenian period (Sig. 559): (1) Ιωαννη β(ασιλικω) σπαθ(αριω) και χαρτονλαριω του οικιστινου (sic); (2) Δαδ [= Δανιδ] [α']νοταριω του οικιστικου; also a seal (3) in Konstantopulos, No. 435 α νοτ. τοῦ οἰκιστικοῦ. It is impossible to admit Panchenko's theory that οἰκιστικός is a mistake for πιστικός (xiii. 116). The βασιλικὸς πιστικός of the three seals which he has published and who, as he has shown (ib. vii. 40 sqq.), had functions connected with maritime commerce, must be accepted; but there can be no doubt that οἰκιστικός was also an official title. Besides the seals cited above, cp. οἰκιστικῶν in the Donation of Alex. Comn. A.D. 1087, Miklosich-Müller, Acta et Dipl. vi. 28. The meaning is quite obscure.
- (6) The κουμερκιάριοι were the officers who collected duties and customs throughout the Empire. They represent the comites commerciorum of Not. Dig., Or. xiii. 6, and are thus evidence of the continuity between the spheres of the comes s. larg. and the General Logothete. The term κομμερκιάριος is officially used in the sixth century. Schlumberger publishes a seal (Mél. 237, κομμ' Τυρου) which he ascribes to that period, and another dates from the reign of Justin II (Sig. 317). In Chron. Pasch. 721 (A. d. 626) we meet Θεόδωρος ὁ ἐνδοξότατος κομμερκιάριος ὁ τὴν ἰσάτιν (?),² evidently a comes commerciorum.

A seal  $[\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \ \beta] a \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \rho \mu \mu \epsilon \rho \kappa \iota \omega \nu \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota \gamma \iota a s$  'Eλλάδο[s] is dated to A.D. 708 (Mél. 221, and cp. 200). Early seals of κομμερκιάριοι are comparatively numerous, cp. Sig. 471 sqq.; Panchenko, viii. 18 sqq. I may note those of Constantine (Sig. 165)  $\dot{a} \pi o \epsilon \pi \dot{a} \rho \chi \omega \nu \kappa \alpha \iota \gamma \epsilon \nu \iota \kappa o \nu \kappa \rho \mu \mu \epsilon \rho \kappa \iota a \rho \iota \sigma \dot{\alpha} \sigma \partial \dot{\gamma} \kappa \eta s$  'Eλλάδοs ( $\dot{a} \pi o \partial \dot{\gamma} \kappa \eta = \text{customs depôt}$ ), and of Kosmas (Panchenko, xiii. 115) κομμερκιαρίου  $\dot{a} \pi o \partial \dot{\gamma} \kappa \eta s$  'Aγκύραs (?), both belonging to the reign of Constans II, and the latter dated apparently to A.D. 644. These officials might have the rank of hypatos or spathar: cp. Panchenko, ib. 147 No. 489, 149 No. 495.

(7) ὁ τῆs κουρατωρίαs, fuller title 736<sub>2</sub> ὁ (σπαθ. καὶ) ἐπὶ τῆs κουρατωρίαs τῶν βασιλικῶν οἴκων. This functionary presided over a special department dealing with the fiscal revenue derived from the taxation of the Imperial estates (res privata). I believe that this was the function of the magistri privatae who are under the com. s. larg. in Not. Dig. (Or. xiii. 15). For we find that before Justinian's innovation in the

<sup>2</sup>. Rendered in the Latin version of Ducange, commerciarius Glasti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sealaw* (1909), cxxxii. 93; Leontios, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Gelzer, xxvii, xxviii; Pap. Brit. Mus. iv. No. 1341, p. 13.

government of Cappadocia in A. d. 536, the collection of the fiscal revenue in the Imperial estates was in the hands of  $\mu \alpha \gamma (\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon s)$  (Nov. 44. 2, 4, p. 266), who are evidently the magistri privatae. Justinian replaced them, for Cappadocia, by  $\pi \rho \dot{\alpha} \kappa \tau o \rho \epsilon s$ . At some subsequent period, these  $\pi \rho \dot{\alpha} \kappa \tau o \rho \epsilon s$  were either replaced by, or placed under, a single controller  $\delta \dot{\epsilon} \pi l \tau \eta s \kappa \sigma \nu \rho \alpha \tau \omega \rho l a s$ . This title is explained by the concrete use of  $\kappa \sigma \nu \rho \alpha \tau \omega \rho l a = res \rho r i v a t a$ . Cp. Theoph.  $487_2 \tau \dot{\alpha} \delta \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \rho \epsilon l \tau \sigma \nu \alpha \tau \dot{\omega} \nu \kappa \tau \eta \mu \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu \epsilon l s \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \dot{\eta} \nu \kappa \sigma \nu \rho \alpha \tau \sigma \rho l \alpha \nu \epsilon l s \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \delta \sigma \sigma \delta \alpha \iota$ .

- (8) It may be conjectured with probability that  $\delta \kappa \delta \mu \eta_8 \tau \hat{\eta}_8 \lambda a\mu las$  (cp. lamna, see Reiske, ad loc.) had to do with bullion and mines, and it is tempting to identify him with the comes metallorum per Illyricum who appears under the comes s. larg., in the Not. Dig., Or. xiii. 11. For a seal of a  $\kappa$ .  $\tau \hat{\eta}_8 \lambda$ . see Konstantopulos, No. 206.
- (9) The διοικηταί were the officers who presided over the collection of taxes. (Cp. Leo VI, Nov. 61, p. 157 τους ἐπὶ συλλογὴν τῶν δημοσίων φόρων καθισταμένους, διοικητάς δ' αὐτοὺς ή συνήθως όμιλία καλείν οίδε.) Paulos ὁ ενδοξότατος ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ διοικητής τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ἐπαρχιῶν, in the Acts of the Sixth Ecum. Council A.D. 680 (Mansi, xi. p. 209) probably represents the 'comes largitionum per dioecesim Asianam' (Not. Dig. Or. xiii. 5). The abolition of the diocesan divisions led to the replacement of the 'comites largitionum per omnes dioceses' by διοικηταί of themes and districts. See the seals of διοικηταί in Sig. 496-7 (cp. Mél. 205 διοικητή της 'Ανδρου, saec. ix); Panchenko, xiii. 131 διοικητή Σάμου καὶ τής Χίου, saec. viii-ix; Mansi, xii. 837 dioecete quod Latine dispositor Siciliae dicitur).1 They were responsible to the General Logothete for the fiscal revenue from their districts, and liable to punishment if it fell short (cp. Theoph. 36727, from which it appears that Theodotos, the Logothete under Justinian II, was unreasonably strict in calling the διοικηταί to account). It appears from Theoph. 412, that there were διοικηταί at Constantinople as well as in the provinces. The πράκτορες, who are often mentioned in our sources, must not be confounded with The πράκτορες were the officials who actually went round and collected the taxes (φορολόγοι), and every διοικητής must have had a number of πράκτορες under him.
- (10) κομεντιανός (κοβεντιανός?) seems to be equivalent to κομβεντιανός from κομβέντος = conventus (e. g. Chron. Pasch.  $596_{20}$ , John Mal.  $438_{23}$ ,  $494_{12}$ ), cp. Cer.  $422_{11}$ ,  $433_5$  σιλέντιον καὶ κομέντον (κοβέντον?);

<sup>2</sup> The letters  $\mu$  and  $\beta$  were easily confused.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The office of δ. might be united with that of κομμερκιάριος, cp. the seal (saec. viii-ix) published by Panchenko, xiii. 87.

but the meaning is obscure. Can it have anything to do with market dues?

(11, 12) πρωτοκαγκελλάριος, καγκελλάριοι.

## (3) ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ.

In the fifth and sixth centuries one of the most important functions of the arca of the Praetorian Prefect was to furnish the pay of the army (cp. C. I. 12. 37). Difficulty has been felt as to the duties of the schola chartulariorum in the officium of the Pr. Pr. of Africa (C. I. 1. 27. 1 (38)). I conjecture that some of their duties were connected with the annonae militares. In the Prefecture of the East we find scriniarii of the Pr. Pr. administering military expenditure (στρατιωτικά διοικεῖν), and in Egypt such a scriniarius was called στρατιωτός; see Justinian, Nov. 96. 13, p. 544.

In the seventh century we find that a separate military chest, called τὸ στρατιωτικόν, has been formed, at least for the eastern portion of the Empire, and removed from the control of the Praetorian Prefect. In A.D. 680 we meet Julian ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ἀπὸ ὑπάτων πατρίκιος καὶ στρατιωτικοῦ λογοθέτης, as one of the ministers who, along with the Emperor, are present at the Sixth General Council (Mansi, xi. 209). Schlumberger has published (Mél. 242) a seal Εὐσταθίου STRAT LOGOTHETOY which seem to belong to the seventh century.<sup>2</sup>

Under Irene we meet Ioannes λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ λογοθεσίου, holding the rank of (βασιλικὸς) ἀστιάριος (therefore a eunuch) in A.D. 787 (Mansi, xii. 999, 1051) and attending the sessions of the Seventh Council; two years later he is Sakellarios as well as λογ. στρατ.

(1) χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ σεκρέτου. Takt. Usp. οἱ χαρτ. τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ 127 (ὁ χαρτ. 129); Cer.  $524_{15}$ ,  $694_{19}$ , Phil.  $752_3$  (τοῦ στρ. λογοθέτου); Sig. 353 seal of Constantine β' σπαθαροκανδιδατω και χαρτ' τ' στρατηστ' (eighth–ninth century) and of John υπατω μεγαλω χαρτουλαριω του στρατιωτικου λογοθεσιου (perhaps tenth century).

(2, 3) χαρτουλάριοι τῶν θεμάτων and τῶν ταγμάτων. The chartularius of a theme or a tagma was subordinate to the Log. Strat. as well as to the Stratêgos or Domestic. He performed similar duties to those which used to be performed by scriniarii ( $\sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \delta s$ , &c., see above) of the Praetorian Prefect.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Karlowa, i. 887.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For other seals see Sig. 352. Panchenko, ix. 372 ' $I\omega(\acute{a}\nu\nu\eta)$ '  $\upsilon\pi(\acute{a}\tau\omega)[\lambda]\circ\gamma\circ\theta[\acute{\epsilon}\tau]\iota$   $[\sigma]\tau\rho[a]\tau\iota\sigma[\tau]\iota\kappa[\sigma\hat{\iota}]$  (eighth-ninth century).

- (4) We met λεγατάριοι also in the office of the Excubiton and the Arithmos.
- (5) δπτίονες, the officers who distributed pay to the soldiers (οἱ δπτίονες τῶν ταγμάτων Phil. 7386). This was their function in the sixth century, Procopius, B. V. i. 17, ii. 20; Justinian, Nov. 150. 1, p. 262. (Cp. Nov. 141. 11, p. 221 in case of foederati.)
  - (6) πρωτοκαγκέλλαριος, implying καγκελλάριοι.
  - (7) μανδάτορες.

The νοτάριοι τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, not mentioned in this list, appear in Cer. 694<sub>20</sub> (they received half the honorarium of the chartularii).

## (4) ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου.

This title should correspond to rationalis cursus publici. There was no such official, and we may conclude that the Logothete of the Course descends from the Curiosus cursus publici praesentalis who was in the officium of the magister officiorum (Not. Dig., Or. xi. 50, cp. Lydus, 2. 10).

The magister officiorum can be traced in the seventh century to the reign of Constantine IV. In the reign of Heraclius the post was held by Bonus (Chron. Pasch. 718, 726), by Anianus and Theodorus (Niceph. Patr. 246, 2518). In A.D. 680 it was held by Niketas (τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων πατρικίου καὶ μαγίστρου τῶν βασιλικῶν ὀφφικίων, Acta Conc. Const. III, Mansi, xi. 209, 217). For the break-up of the office and for the μάγιστροι of the eighth century see above B (14) p. 29.

The magister had performed multifarious duties, and he was the functionary who most nearly corresponded to a minister of foreign affairs. This important part of his work was transferred to the curiosus who presided over the state post. It seems not unlikely that before the time of Leo III the magister had been deprived of some of his functions, and, for instance, that the state post may have been raised to a separate and independent office. In any case the official who derived his title from the state post and was named  $\lambda oyo\theta \acute{e} \eta s \tau o \hat{v} \delta \rho \acute{o} \mu o v$ , a name which does not appear till the eighth century, took over also from the mag. off. the duties connected with diplomacy, correspondence with foreign powers, and the reception of ambassadors.

When  $\lambda o \gamma o \theta \acute{\epsilon} \tau \eta s$  is used without qualification, in Byzantine writers, the Logothete of the Course is generally meant (e. g. Cont. Th. 122<sub>3</sub>,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Chron. Pasch. 696, A.D. 605, the subadiuva of the magister is mentioned.

The logothete was received in audience every morning by the Emperor (Cer. 520) in the Chrysotriklinos. It was his duty to present ministers and officers (stratêgoi, domestici, &c.) to be invested by the Emperor (ib. 525 sqq.). At the silention in the Magnaura, at which the Emperor makes a public speech, the logothete is associated with the protoasecretes and the chief of the Imperial notaries (ib. 546<sub>9</sub>). He naturally played the most important part at the reception of foreign envoys or potentates (ib. 568, 138); also at the exhibition of captives ( $610_7$ , 15).

(1) The  $\pi\rho\omega\tau o\nu\sigma\tau \acute{a}\rho\iota os$   $\tau o\mathring{v}$   $\delta\rho\acute{o}\mu ov$  (spathar Phil. 735<sub>5</sub>, and Takt. Usp. 124, or inferior ib. 127) appears in some of the ceremonies (conducting captives at a triumph, Cer.  $609_{21}$ ,  $613_3$ ; bearing the sportula of the archon of Taro,  $138_{22}$ ,  $569_5$ ). He is mentioned in

Cont. Th. 198,10.

(2) χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ δρόμου (spathars Takt. Usp. 125; omitted accidentally in the list of spathars in Phil.), in full οἱ χ. τοῦ ὀξέου δρόμου Phil. 788<sub>22</sub>, and so De adm. imp. 184 (Sinartes, a eunuch) χ. τ. ὀξέος δ. They are probably to be identified partly with the curiosi per omnes provincias ³ (Not. Dig., Or. xi. 51), and partly with the χαρτουλάριοι τῶν βαρβάρων who play a part in the reception of the Persian ambassador, as described by Peter the Patrician (Cer. 404<sub>15</sub>, 405<sub>14</sub>) and belonged to the scrinium barbarorum (see below). For νοτάριοι in the scrinium of the (provincial?) χαρτουλάριος we have the evidence of a seal (tenth or eleventh century): Λεον(τι) νοτ' του χαρτ' του δρομ' (Mél. 240).

<sup>2</sup> We have also a seal of Martin, Imperial spatharocandidatus and λογοθέτη του

οξεως δρομου (Sig. 529) and one of Stylianos (533)?

After the eighth century the Logothete would hardly have as low as spatharocandidate rank. Theoktistos was a patrician. Under Leo VI the office was held by his father-in-law Stylianos, with the rank of magister (Cont. Th. 3549); in the tenth century Leo Rhabduchos was  $\mu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \iota \sigma \tau \rho o s \kappa \dot{\alpha} \iota \lambda o \gamma o \theta \dot{\epsilon} \tau \eta s \tau$ .  $\delta \rho$ . (De adm. imp. 156).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We may, I think, assume that Thomas the logothete, in Vita Euthymii (ed. De Boor) 16. 9, was Log. of the Course. Probably Χασανις  $\sigma\tau[\rho]$ άτο( $\rho\iota$ ) τοῦ λο- $\gamma(o\theta\epsilon\sigma(ov))$ , Mél. 260 (ninth-tenth century), belonged to this officium.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cp. C. Th. 6. 29, De curiosis.

- (3) ἐπισκεπτῆται. There are some late seals of ἐπισκεπτῆται who possibly belong here, e.g. that of Epiphanios, βασιλικοῦ ἐπισκεπτίτου Ποδάντου (Sig. 315). They probably had to report on matters connected with the safety of the provinces and frontiers.<sup>1</sup>
- (4)  $\epsilon \rho \mu \eta \nu \epsilon \nu \tau a \ell$  are the interpretes diversarum gentium in the officium of the mag. off. in Not. Dig., Or. xi. 52. Cp. Peter Patr., in Cer.  $404_{16}$ . (On this subject cp. Bury, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, xv. 540-1.2) The body of interpretes must have belonged to the scrinium barbarorum which is mentioned in A.D. 441 in a constitution of Theodosius II, addressed to the mag. off. (Nov. 21), and is referred to in the text of Peter (Cer.  $400_8$ ), from which we learn that, besides the chartularii an optio ( $\delta \delta \pi \tau \ell \omega \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \beta$ .,  $401_6$ ), was attached to it, who was sent to Chalcedon to supply the Persian envoy with money.
- (5) ὁ κουράτωρ τοῦ ἀποκρισιαριείου. The ἀποκρισιαριείου was (as the title κουράτωρ shows) a building; and we may readily conjecture that it was a hostel for the entertainment of foreign envoys (ἀποκρισιάριοι).
- (6, 7) διατρέχοντες (= cursores) and μανδάτορες, cp. Phil. 786<sub>18</sub>, 19. The scrinium barbarorum, though not mentioned by Philotheos in connexion with the Logothete, seems to have been still in existence. Phil. 725<sub>5</sub> mentions δ βάρβαρος (see also  $\pi \epsilon \rho l$  ταξ. 461<sub>4</sub>), who is evidently identical with δ ἐπὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, who is recorded by several seals. Schlumberger has published six seals of Staurakios, a protospathar, who held this office. A seal of Peter β. α' σπαθαριος και επη των βαρβαρων he ascribes to the ninth century. Sig. 448 sqq. See also Panchenko, ix. 357, xiii. 142; Konstantopulos, No. 307. Rambaud thinks that the function of the scr. barb. was to defray the expenses of foreign ambassadors. It seems to me more probable that the βάρβαρος exercised supervision over all foreigners visiting Constantinople.

## (5) δ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ σακελλίου.

The Sakellion has been already dealt with. The Chartulary is sometimes called briefly  $\delta$  τοῦ σακελλίου (Phil. 777, Cer.  $115_{20}$ ). We also find σακέλλης instead of σακελλίου (e.g. Takt. Usp. 127, Phil.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There were ἐπισκεπτῆται under (1) the Prefect of the City, (2) the Logothete of the Course, (3) the Great Curator, (4) the Logothete of the Flocks. Seals of officers with this title are generally ambiguous, e. g. that of an ἐπισκ. and κουβουκλίσιος published by Panchenko, xiii. 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A έρμηνεύs for Arabic, in the army, is mentioned by Theoph. Sim. 2. 10. 6.
<sup>3</sup> This word was applied to foreign as well as Imperial envoys; cp. Theoph.
392<sub>13, 15</sub>, 429<sub>27</sub>, 475<sub>27</sub>.

735<sub>22</sub>, 750<sub>18</sub>, 763<sub>6</sub>. Schlumberger (Sig. 580) has published a seal of uncertain date ('VIII<sup>6</sup>-XI<sup>6</sup> siècle') of a Chartulary:

λ' καὶ χαρ[τουλ]αρ' τοῦ β[ασ(ιλικοῦ) σ]ακελ[λί]ου.

- (1) νοτάριοι βασιλικοὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου (Takt. Usp. ὁ νοτάριος σακέλλης, read οἱ —οι, under spathar rank), Phil.  $735_{21}$  οἱ σπαθάριοι καὶ βασιλικοὶ νοτάριοι τῆς σακέλλης,  $752_5$  ν. τοῦ σακέλλιον, Cer.  $694_{20}$  οἱ ν. τῆς σακέλλης,  $594_7$ . They correspond to the primiscrinii of the comes rei priv. (Not. Dig. Or. xiv).
- (2)  $\pi\rho\omega\tau o\nu o\tau d\rho\iota o\iota$   $\theta\epsilon\mu d\tau\omega\nu$ . The duties of a  $\pi\rho\omega\tau o\nu o\tau d\rho\iota os$  of a theme are illustrated in the schedule of the preparations for the Cretan Expedition of A.D. 902, Cer. ii. c. 44. There we find the protonotary of the Thrakesian theme arranging for the purchase of the provisions required by the soldiers, for a supply of flax for caulking the vessels and for the use of the Greek fire-guns, and for a supply of nails (p. 658). The protonotary of the Cibyrrhaeot theme is to buy 60,000 nails for fastening hides to the vessels (p. 659). For duties connected with moving the Imperial baggage, which the Emperor left behind when he crossed the Saracen frontiers, see  $\pi\epsilon\rho\lambda$   $\tau a\xi$ . (see further  $464_3$ ,  $466_2$ ,  $477_9$ ,  $479_{18}$ ,  $489_2$ .) The protonotaries had it in their power to oppress the provincials, Cont. Th.  $443_{15}$ . Their seals are common.<sup>2</sup>
- (3, 6, 7) The ξενοδόχοι and γηροκόμοι (spathars Phil. 7364, 6; inferior Takt. Usp. 127) were heads of ξενῶνες 3 and γηροκομεῖα supported by the state. They appear in the company of δ τοῦ σακελλίου (sc. χαρτ.), Cer.  $115_{20}$ , Phil.  $777_1$ . The χαρτουλάριοι τῶν οἴκων, i. e. τῶν εὐαγῶν οἴκων, dealt with the accounts and expenditure of these establishments. Possibly εὐαγῶν should be restored here: Takt Usp. has οἱ χαρτουλλάριοι τῶν εὐαγῶν οἴκων 127, and so Phil.  $753_4$ . εὐαγής was technical, in this connexion, from an early period: cp. C. I. 1. 3. 41 (11), A. d. 528 τῶν τε εὐαγῶν ξενώνων καὶ νοσοκομείων κτλ. 'the pious hostelries, hospitals,' &c.; Justinian, Nov. 60, p. 388.
- (4, 5) The ζυγοστατής (spathar Phil. 736<sub>4</sub>, inferior Takt. Usp. 127) examined and weighed the nomismata which came into the treasury.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Sig. 103, 112, 122, 298-9, 345, &c., &c. See also Mél. 208 Στεφανω β' κανδ' και άνοτ. Σικελ', saec. ix; 223 β' σπαθαρ' κανδ' και ανοταρ' Πελοπον', saec. xi; 236 Λεοντι υπατω και ανοταρ Χαλδιας saec. viii-ix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cont. Th. 447<sub>17</sub>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> e. g. those of Sampson, Theophilus, Eubulus, Narses, St. Irene. There was a ξενοδοχεῖον at Nicaea, cp. Panchenko, ix. 352 Μανουὴλ βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίφ καὶ ξενοδόχῳ Νικαίαs (see Schlumberger, Sig. 381, Mél. 300); at Lopadion in Bithynia (Sig. 381), &c., &c. Cp. Panchenko, ix. 387-9. See also below under the Great Curator.

Cp. the constitution in C. Th. 12. 7. Julian refers to  $\zeta vyo\sigma\tau a\tau a \ell$  in the various cities (ib. 2: quem sermo graecus appellat per singulas civitates constitui zygostaten), who decided if there was any dispute de qualitate solidorum. The  $\mu \epsilon \tau \rho \eta \tau a \ell$  had similar duties connected with weights and measures.

(8, 9) πρωτοκαγκελλάριος and καγκελλάριοι.

(10) ὁ δομέστικος τῆς θυμέλης (ὁ ἄρχων τῆς θ. Cer. 382<sub>2</sub>) had for his province expenditure on public amusements. We may regard him as the successor of the tribunus voluptatum of the fifth century (C. Th. 15. 7. 13). For θυμέλη in this technical sense cp. the edicts of A. d. 26, C. Th. 8. 7. 21, 22 (actuarios thymelae et equorum currulium); Justinian's edict  $\pi$ ερὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, addressed to the comes s. largitionum, Nov. 81, p. 468 τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τε καὶ θυμέλης ἡδυπαθείας. There seems to have been a theatrical treasury controlled by the Prefect of the City in the sixth century (τῆ θεατραλία, Nov. 84, p. 480).

## (6) ὁ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ βεστιαρίου.

In the fifth century (as stated above) the vestiarium sacrum was a scrinium in the officium of the comes s. larg., and its chief was, as usual, entitled primicerius. The officials at the head of the department were in the East the magistri lineae vestis (Not. Dig., Or. xiii. 14), in the West the comes vestiarii (ib., Occ. xi. 5). We may conjecture that the elevation of the vestiarium into an independent office, under a chartularius, was coincident with the transformation of the s. largitiones into the yevikóv, was in fact part of that transformation. But when the vestiarium branched off from the fisc, the new office was increased in compass. In fact, three of the scrinia, which used to be under the comes s. larg., namely scr. vest. s., scr. argenti, and scr. a miliarensibus, were combined to form a new office which was called the  $\beta\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\acute{a}\rho\iota\sigma\nu$ . The minting departments of the argentum and a miliarensibus are represented in the new officium by the  $a\rho\chi\omega\nu$   $\tau\eta$ s  $\chi a\rho\alpha\gamma\eta$ s.

The vestiarium or public Wardrobe must be carefully distinguished from the Emperor's private Wardrobe, the sacra vestis, over which a comes s. vestis (who was a cubicularius) presided (see C. Th. xi. 18. 1 with note of Godofredus). These two wardrobes remained distinct in later times, though they have been confounded by Schlumberger (in his Sigillographie) and by other writers. The comes s. vestis, who was under the control of the praepositus s. cub., is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Justinian, Nov. 152. 15, p. 282. The μέτρα and σταθμά supplied by Praet. Praef. and Com. larg. are to be kept in the most holy church of each city. For a δημόσιος ζυγοστατής in Egypt A.D. 609 see B. G. U, iii. 837. 18.

For the sphere of the public vestiarium cp. C. Th. vii. 6 de militari veste, and xi. 18 de vestibus holoveris et auratis. Duties connected with the equipment of ships seem to have been attached to the department in later times (cp.  $\epsilon \xi a \rho \tau \iota \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} s$  below, and Cer. 672 and 676).<sup>2</sup>

Two seals, which seem to belong to our period (ninth century), are published by Schlumberger <sup>3</sup> (Sig. 603) Λεοντι μαγιστρω και επι του βεστιαριου το Σκληρω, and Μιχαηλ υπατω σιλευτιαριω και χαρτουλαριω του βασιλικου βεστιαριου. Schlumberger suggests the ascription of the former to Leo Skleros, who became Stratêgos of the Peloponnesus <sup>4</sup> in A. p. 811.

Another of the same period is published by Panchenko, ix. 364,  $\pi a \tau [\rho \iota \kappa \iota \omega] \pi \rho \omega \tau o \sigma \pi a (\theta a \rho \iota \omega) \kappa a \iota [\chi a \rho] \tau o \upsilon \lambda (a \rho \iota \omega) \tau (o \upsilon) \beta (a \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa o \upsilon) [\beta] \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota a \rho (\iota o \upsilon)$ .

(1) This secretum has βασιλικοὶ νοτάριοι τοῦ σεκρέτου like that of the sakellion, from which it otherwise differs. These notaries (spathars, Phil.  $735_{22}$ ; inferior Takt. Usp. 127 ὁ νοτ. τοῦ βεστ.) are mentioned, Cer.  $594_6$  and 694. Cp. seal of Comnenian (?) age in Panchenko, xiii. 101 Λέων ἀσηκ[ρή]τι[s] νοτ(άριος) τ(οῦ) [β(ασιλικοῦ) β]ε[σ]τηαρ[ίου.

(2, 3) We may conjecture that the occurrence of a  $\kappa \acute{\epsilon} \nu \tau a \rho \chi o s$  ( $\delta \kappa . \tau o \vartheta \beta \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota a \rho \iota o \upsilon Phil. 738_{10}$ ) is due to the circumstance that the supply of military uniforms was an important department of this office. But we have no evidence for his duties or those of the

λεγατάριος.

- (4) The ἄρχων τῆς χαραγῆς was chief of the mint (at all events for silver and bronze, see above). χαραγή is regularly used for moneta. Philotheos elsewhere mentions δ χρυσοεψητής (auricoctor)  $736_4$ ,  $789_2$ , who also appears in Takt. Usp. 127. Perhaps he belonged to the οἰκειακὸν βεστιάριον.
  - (5, 6) έξαρτιστής. χαρτουλάριος. The juxtaposition suggests that this

<sup>2</sup> In the eleventh century the vestiarium (τὸ σεκρέτον τοῦ β.) seems to have dealt with vacantia: Alex. Comnenus, Nov. xx. 348-9.

<sup>3</sup> Schlumberger groups the officials of the public and the private wardrobes, and also the  $\beta\epsilon\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}\tau\sigma\rho\epsilon$ , under the same heading.

<sup>4</sup> Script. Incert. 336 (Leo Gramm. ed. Bonn).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is not clear which wardrobe is meant in Constantine, Them. 15, where it is said that ἀργυρᾶ μινσούρια (dishes) ἀνάγλυφα κεῖται ἐν τῷ βασ. βεστ. For the private wardrobe see below D, II (2).

- (7) κουράτορες.
- (8)  $\chi o \sigma \beta a \hat{\eta} \tau a \iota$  (appear along with silentiarii in *Cer.* 234<sub>9</sub>). The derivation is obscure, but the gloss  $\beta \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota a \rho \iota \tau \eta s$  quoted by Ducange  $s.\ v.$  is borne out by the fact that these functionaries belonged to the Vestiarium.
- (9, 10) In having  $\mu \alpha \nu \delta \acute{\alpha} \tau o \rho \epsilon s$  (we must read in the text of Phil.  $\pi \rho \omega \tau o \mu \alpha \nu \delta \acute{\alpha} \tau \omega \rho$ ,  $\mu \alpha \nu \delta \acute{\alpha} \tau o \rho \epsilon s$ ) this office resembles the  $\sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota \kappa \acute{\nu} \iota$ .

# (7) δ πρωτοασηκρήτης.

The ἀσηκρῆται (who might have protospathar or spathar rank, Phil. 733<sub>1</sub>, 758<sub>1</sub>, 735<sub>5</sub>; spathar or lower, Takt. Usp. 124, 127) descend from the older imperial notarii. Cp. Lydus, 3. 27 ad fin. τοὺs λεγομένους ἀσηκρήτις τῆς αὐλῆς, Procop. H. A. 14, B. P. 2. 7. (cp. Procop. H. A. 16 with Theoph.  $186_{15}$ ). Their chief, the πρωτοασηκρήτης (might be ἀνθ. κ. πατρικ., Phil. 729<sub>4</sub>; protospathar, Takt. Usp. 124). Their seals are frequent (Sig. 444 sqq.).

Asecretis, however, was not merely a new name for notarius. The schola of  $\partial \sigma \eta \kappa \rho \hat{\eta} \tau a \iota$  was differentiated from that of notarii, as a superior and select class, though the functions of both were similar. The protoasecretis took the place, in rank and dignity, of the primicerius notariorum of the Notitia; and if the direct descendant of the primicerius is, as seems probable, the  $\pi \rho \omega \tau o \tau \sigma \tau \delta \rho \iota o s$ , this office was reduced in dignity, overshadowed by the protoasecretis, to whom it was subordinate. The growth of the term asecretis is illustrated by the passages cited from Procopius and Lydus. We meet an  $\partial \sigma \eta \kappa \rho \hat{\eta} \tau \sigma s$  in the reign of Phocas. Maximus, the Confessor, was  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \sigma \sigma \sigma \sigma \eta \kappa \rho \hat{\eta} \tau \eta s$  under Heraclius. Two  $\partial \sigma \kappa \kappa \rho \hat{\epsilon} \tau \iota s$  are mentioned in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. also Malalas 494<sub>8</sub>: an ἀσεκρῆτις, along with the quaestor and Prefect, takes part in a criminal investigation. For the ἀσηκρητεῖα in the Palace cp. e.g. Gen.  $20_{21}$ , George Mon. ed Bonn  $822_4$ , Cer.  $520_7$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Theophyl. Sim. 8. 10. 2 (one of the βασ. ταχυγράφοι, cp. Lydus, loc. cit.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Vit. Max., Migne, P. G. 90. 72 ὑπογραφέα πρῶτον τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπομνημάτω». For ὑπογραφῆς = the Imperial notarii see Socr., H. E., 7. 23; 'first of the Emperor's ὑπογραφῆς' in Agath. Pref., p. 7, means primicerius notariorum. Cp. Gen. 85, δυτι τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν πρώτοις ὑπογραφέων = Cont. Th. 161, φέροντι τὴν τῶν ἀσηκρήτων ἐν πρώτοις τιμήν.

the Acts of the Council of a.d. 680 (Mansi, xi. 232, 324, 329): Paulus ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος ἀσεκρέτις καὶ βασιλικὸς σεκρετάριος and Diogenes τοῦ μεγαλοπ. ἀσεκρέτις σεκρεταρίου βασιλικοῦ. The Emperor Artemius had been an ἀσηκρῆτις (τῆς τῶν ἀσηκρητίων σχολῆς πρότερον γενόμενος ἐναρίθμιος, Agathon Diac. in Mansi, xii. 193; Niceph. Patr. 49<sub>20</sub>). The Patriarchs Tarasius and Nicephorus had belonged to this service (Theoph. 458, 481). It seems to have devolved upon the protoasecretis to draw up the Imperial χρυσοβούλλια (Basil II, Nov. 29, p. 313 ed. Zach.).

(1) Many seals of ἀσηκρῆται are extant. See Schlumberger, Sig., 444 sqq., Mél. 264, Panchenko, xiii. 89.

(2) For seals of νοτάριοι see Sig., 551 sqq., Panchenko, ix. 356.

The πρωτονοτάριοs or chief of the school of the notaries is not mentioned here but appears along with the protoasecretis in various ceremonies (Cer.  $7_{20}$ ,  $10_{22}$ ,  $20_{17}$ ,  $123_3$ ,  $546_{10}$ ). From the school of the notaries were drawn the νοτάριοι βασιλικοί attached to most of the financial bureaux. The two categories are distinguished thus, Cer.  $575_{10-12}$  of ἀσηκρήται καὶ οἱ νοτάριοι τῶν ἀσηκρητειῶν = the notaries under the protoasecretis; and οἱ τῶν σεκρέτων (χαρτονλάριοι καὶ) νοτάριοι = the notaries of the finance ministers. Cp.  $693_{13}$  ὁ νοτ. τῶν ἀσηκρητειῶν. It seems impossible to say for certain whether seals of πρωτονοτάριοι, without definition, belong here; probably some of them do. Note the late seals with ἀσηκρῆτις καὶ πρωτονοταρίφ (Sig. 444, 552).

(3) The dekavós appears with the dohkphtai in the ceremony of creating Patricians, Cer.  $246_{21}$ . On the Emperor's military expeditions the decanus had a baggage horse  $\epsilon is$   $\tau a$   $\beta a \sigma i \lambda i k a \lambda a \rho \tau i a$  ( $\pi \epsilon \rho i$   $\tau a \xi$ .  $479_8$ ). [For the decani who were under the castrensis in the fifth and sixth centuries see the texts cited by Böcking, and Not. Dig., Occ. iii. 299–300.]

## (8) δ έπλ τοῦ είδικοῦ.

The functions of this minister, generally known as  $\delta \epsilon l \delta \iota \kappa \delta s$ , have been commonly misunderstood. The name, though always spelt with  $\epsilon \iota$ , has been connected with  $l \delta \iota \kappa \delta s$ , and the office thus brought into relation with the old res privata  $1 = \dot{\eta} l \delta \iota \kappa \dot{\eta} \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \iota \delta a$  or the old sacrum patrimonium  $= \dot{\eta} l \delta \iota \kappa \dot{\eta} \kappa \tau \dot{\eta} \sigma \iota s$ . There is, however, no connexion either between the names or the offices.  $\tau \delta \epsilon l \delta \iota \kappa \delta \nu$  does not mean the private treasury, it means the special treasury, opposed to  $\gamma \epsilon \nu \iota \kappa \delta \nu$ , and its functions have nothing in common with those of the res privata or the patrimonium.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Reiske and Ducange.

The most important text we have bearing on the functions of this office is the list of supplies for the Cretan expedition of A.D. 949, in Cer. ii. 45. There we have an account of the διάφορα εἴδη 1 which were ἀπὸ τοῦ σεκρέτου τοῦ εἰδικοῦ ἐξοδιασθέντα (673). Compare the list, p. 671, where it is noted ὅτι ἡ ἔξοδος τῶν ἀρμένων καὶ τῶν διφθερίων ὀφείλει ἐξέρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τὸ εἰδικόν. The office had a storehouse: cp. 674<sub>22</sub> διφθερίων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὸ εἰδικόν.² Nearly all the equipments and hardstores required for the expedition seem to have been supplied by the eidikon and the vestiarion. In addition to sails, ropes, hides, axes, wax, tin, lead, casks, &c., the eidikon also furnished clothes (underclothes, leggings, &c.), 677–8. Another text bearing on the εἰδικόν is Cont. Th. 257, where we learn that Michael III deposited in its treasury gold which he had obtained by melting down works of art.

The titles of officials under the  $\epsilon i \delta \iota \kappa \acute{o}s$  further show that his sphere had nothing to do with that of the old comes rei privatae. It was specially concerned with the  $\epsilon \rho \gamma o \delta \acute{o} \iota a$  or factories. In the fifth century the factories, fabricae, of arms (scutaria, clibanaria, armamentaria, &c.) were under the control of the magister officiorum; the procuratores of other public factories were subordinate to the comes s. largitionum. We may therefore infer that when the s. largitiones was transformed into  $\tau \grave{o} \gamma \epsilon \nu \iota \kappa \acute{o}\nu$ , the management of the factories was constituted as a separate ministry, and termed, in contradistinction,  $\tau \grave{o} \epsilon i \delta \iota \kappa \acute{o}\nu$ .

The  $\epsilon i\delta\iota\kappa\dot{o}s$  had a treasury (probably supplied by the sale of manufactures), from which we find him disbursing three litrae to the comes stabuli ( $\pi\epsilon\rho\dot{l}$   $\tau a\xi$ .  $462_3$ ), and sums to the Imperial household (ib.  $463_{13}$ ), on occasion of an Imperial expedition. On such an occasion he himself takes charge of the transport of all kinds of  $\epsilon i\delta\eta$ , from shoes to candlesticks, with a caravan of forty-six pack-horses (ib. 473-4), and he, with his hebdomarioi, gives out the supplies (cp. ib.  $481_7$ ). An important item was the supply of barley for the animals; this was furnished at the several stations by the protonotary of the theme to the comes stabuli, the amount being entered in the presence of the  $\epsilon l\delta\iota\kappa\delta s$ , and after the expedition the accounts were made up by the protonotaries and the chartularius stabuli in the bureau of the  $\epsilon l\delta\iota\kappa\delta s$  (ib.  $476_{15}-477_9$ ).

<sup>2</sup> Cer. 180<sub>13</sub> ἐπὶ τὸν εἰδικόν. Does this mean the bureau of the εἰδικός, in the

palace?

<sup>1</sup> It would not be correct to derive τὸ εἰδικόν from εἴδη in this sense. In Egyptian papyri εἶδος frequently occurs for 'tax' but generally suggests a tax in kind, cp. Kenyon, Pap. Brit. Mus. iv, No. 1346.

The earliest mention of the  $\epsilon i \delta \iota \kappa \delta s$  is in Takt. Usp., where he appears with the rank of protospatharios (120  $\delta$  πρωτοσπ. καὶ  $\epsilon \pi i$  τοῦ  $i \delta \iota \kappa ο i$ ). Under Basil I, Nicetas, son of Constantine Triphyllios, held the post (Photius, Ep. 130, ed Valettas; Gen. 71). The seals published by Schlumberger (Sig. 518) belong to the Comnenian epoch; likewise that published by Panchenko (xiii. 98, where I disagree with his πρωτονοταρίω [καὶ] είδικ( $\hat{\omega}$ ) and would read [τοῦ] είδικοῦ).

(1) The Eidikos, like most of the other finance officers, had νοτάριοι βασιλικοί in his secretum. (Spathars, Phil. 735<sub>23</sub>; inferior, Takt. Usp. 127.) They received a large honorarium from newly appointed officials (Cer. 694<sub>17</sub>). Demetrius, a βασ. νοτ. τοῦ εἰδικοῦ, took part in a conspiracy against Romanus I (Cont. Th. 400<sub>12</sub>). There is a seal of a πρωτονοτάριος of the Comnenian age (Sig. 517).

(2, 4) ἄρχοντες and μειζότεροι τῶν ἐργοδοσίων.¹ These ἄρχοντες are doubtless descended from the ἐργαστηριάρχαι καὶ ἄρχοντες of whom two seals are preserved (Schlumberger, Mél. 240–1, Panchenko, xiii. 114), belonging to the seventh century, probably A.D. 643–4. For the term μειζότερος = mayor, overseer, cp. Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri, I. 158. 6 κόμετι μειζοτέρφ, ib. 2 τῷ μείζονι = overseer, 156. 5 χαρτονλαρίοις καὶ μείζοσι; VI. 922<sub>21</sub> μειζοτέρον, 943<sub>3</sub>; B. G. U. ii. 368: all documents of sixth to seventh century.

(3) The έβδομάριοι τοῦ είδικοῦ are mentioned in  $\pi$ ερὶ ταξ.  $478_{10}$ ,  $487_{22}$ .

## (9) ὁ μέγας κουράτωρ, and (10) ὁ κουράτωρ τῶν Μαγγάνων.

It was shown above (p. 79) that, in the reign of Justinian, the divinae domus, which had been administered by the comes r. priv., and the divina domus per Cappadociam, which had been under the Praepositus, seem to have been formed into a new and separate administration under a κουράτωρ τῶν οἰκιῶν, whom we meet in A. d. 566. This functionary probably appears earlier in A. d. 557, for Agathias explains that Anatolios, who then bore the title of κουράτωρ, had the charge of the Emperor's οἶκοι and κτήματα (5.3, p. 284). We meet Aristobulos δ κουρ. τῶν βασιλικῶν οἴκων in the reign of Maurice (Theoph. 261<sub>3</sub>). The various estates and properties had special curators, subordinate to the Curator: Justin II, Nov. 8 (p. 19) οἴ τε ἐνδοξότατοι κουράτωρες τῶν θείων οἴκων, Tiberius II, Nov. 12 (p. 26) τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἡ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτων κουρατώρων τῶν θείων ἡμῶν ἡ τῆς εὐσοβεστάτης βασιλίδος οἴκων. We may say that the Curator has taken the place of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Theophanes, A. M. 6285 (A. D. 792) mention το βασιλικον έργοδόσιον των χρυσοκλαβαρίων.

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Comes domorum, who was under the comes r. priv.; but he has become an independent minister, and his administration has been enlarged.

The Curator was doubtless called usigns to distinguish him from the subordinate curators. He had in his hands a considerable part of the administration which used to fall within the province of the comes r. priv. and comes s. patrimonii. The financial control, as we have seen, belonged to the Sakellion. The office was called τὸ μέγα κουρατωρίκιον; it and the office of Mangana were twins (τὰ δύο κουρατωρίκια, οἱ δύο κουράτωρες, Cer. 461, 3). Philotheos says that the only difference was that there were no ξενοδόχοι under the κουρ. τ. Mayy. But did the sameness consist in actual identity or in sameness of type (like the officia of the stratêgoi)? The μειζότερος τῶν 'Ελευθερίου, majordomo of the house of Eleutherios, occurring in both officia, if Philotheos is accurate, points to actual identity. question is whether the παλάτια and κτήματα were divided between the two Curators, so that the subordinate κουράτωρες in the officium of each were different persons, or whether both controlled all the private estates, but for different purposes. The latter alternative seems to be supported further by the existence of a special κουράτωρ of the κτήματα. He is designated in περί ταξ. 461, as ὁ κτημάτινος, where he is distinguished from οἱ δύο κουράτωρες, and in Phil. 78821 as ὁ κ. τοῦ κτήματος. In the list of the officium the text gives κουράτωρες των κτημάτων, but the passages quoted point to the correction κουράτωρ. This official was subordinate to the two Curators.

The origin of the second Curator may be inferred from his title, κουράτωρ τῶν Μαγγάνων (cp. Cont. Th. 3976). The Imperial 'houses', named Mangana 2 and New House, were founded by Basil I, and were really large agricultural estates (οἶκος like domus, in this sense), the revenues of which were destined to defray the costs of the Imperial banquets. This is explained in Constantine's Vita Basilii (Cont. Th. 337 μὴ βουλόμενος γὰρ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα ἄπερ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηκόου φόροι γεννῶντες αὐξάνουσιν εἰς οἰκείας καταναλίσκειν χρείας καὶ τῶν ἀνὰ πῶν ἔτος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκλημένων, καὶ τοὺς ἐτέρων πόνους τὴν τούτων τράπεζαν ἡδύνειν ἡ συγκροτεῖν, τοὺς τοιούτους οἴκους ἐπενοήσατο καὶ προσόδους ἐκ γεωργίας ἀπέταξεν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἱκανάς, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ βασιλικὴ πανδαισία αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν ἄφθονον καὶ δικαίαν τὴν χορηγίαν ἔμελλεν ἔχειν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> C. Th. 10. 1. 15, A. D. 396.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mangana seems to have been acquired by Basil from the Patriarch Ignatius, who, when he returned to Constantinople to resume the patriarchal throne, was provisionally lodged ἐν τοῖς γονικοῖς αὐτοῦ παλατίοις τοῖς καλουμένοις Μαγκάνοις (Vita Ignatii, Mansi, xvi. 257). The palace had seemingly belonged to his father, Michael I.

ἀεί). This important text proves that the κουράτωρ τῶν Μαγγάνων was a new creation of Basil I. We might reasonably infer that the νέος οἶκος, established for the same purpose, was likewise under his control. But what Philotheos states about the officia seems to show, as we have seen, that he had to do with other estates and palaces, such as τὰ Ἐλευθερίον. It looks as if Constantine's account were defective, and that Basil had also allocated a portion of the revenue from other estates to the same purpose as the revenue from Mangana, and that all such portions were dealt with by the κουρ. τ. Μαγγάνων. If this were so, some (not necessarily all) of the special κουράτωρες who were subordinate to the Great Curator would be for this purpose subordinate also to the Curator of Mangana. But the whole question is very doubtful and obscure.

Schlumberger has published (Sig. 142) a seal (which he ascribes to the ninth century) of Leo, protospatharios, μεγάλφ κουράτωρι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ οἴκου τῶν Μαγγάνων, which shows that the Curator of Mangana also claimed the epithet μέγαs. See also the later seals (eleventh century), ib. 151.

(1, 2) In this officium the  $\pi \rho \omega \tau o \nu o \tau \acute{a} \rho \iota o s^{1}$  is designated as well as the βασιλικοὶ νοτάριοι.

(3) κουράτωρες τῶν παλατίων. The curator τῶν 'Ορμίσδου, Chron. Pasch., A. d. 602, p. 972 <sup>2</sup>; the curator τῶν 'Αντιόχου, Theoph. Sim., 3. 3. 11 (cp. Chron. Pasch., p. 973). The curator in Cer. 374<sub>10</sub> is the curator of the palace of Hiereia. The curae palatiorum were in early times under the castrensis s. palatii (Not. Or. xvii).

(4) κουράτωρες τῶν κτημάτων. Probably an error for κουράτωρ τ. κ., cp. above and Phil. 788<sub>21</sub>. Perhaps, however, the plural includes both δ κτημάτινος κ. and also a number of subordinate local κουράτωρες. Cp. ἡ κουρατωρεία τῶν Τρυχίνων (in Lydia), περὶ ταξ. 462<sub>7</sub>.

(5) The Palace of Eleutherios had a μειζότεροs instead of a κουράτωρ.
The Palace was built by Irene.<sup>3</sup> It is mentioned in Michael's Vit.
Theod. Stud. (Migne, P. G. 99. 269).

(6, 7, 8) The  $\xi \epsilon \nu o \delta o \chi \epsilon \hat{\iota} a$  of Sangaros, Pylae, and Nicomedia were exceptionally under the Great Curator. The other  $\xi \epsilon \nu o \delta o \chi \epsilon \hat{\iota} a$  were under the Sakellion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Phil.  $735_{25}$  οἱ σπαθ. καὶ πρωτονοτάριοι τοῦ μεγάλου κουρατωρικίου must be corrected either to the singular or, more probably, by the addition of καὶ τοῦ Μαγγάνων κουρατωρικίου. Cp. Cer.  $461_2$  οἱ δύο πρωτονοτάριοι τῶν δύο κουρατωρικίων.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. Acts of Council of A. D. 680, Mansi xi. 209 Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτ. ἀπὸ ὑπάτων πατρικίου καὶ κουράτωρος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τῶν 'Ορμίσδου οἴκου.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  Πάτρια, ed. Preger,  $267_{13}$ . It was probably no longer a palace in the thirteenth century; cp. the seal of George in Sig. 155. For the term  $\mu$ ειζότερος see above under  $\dot{\delta}$  επὶ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ.

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(9) The  $\frac{\partial}{\partial t}$  is  $\frac{\partial}{\partial t}$  in the Great Curator sent to inspect the management of the palaces and estates.

#### 11. δ 'Ορφανοτρόφος.

The δρφανοτρόφος was the Principal of the great Orphanage of Constantinople, τὸ ὀρφανοτροφείον, which was situated north of the Acropolis near the Porta Eugenii. In the reign of Leo I, Acacius, afterwards Patriarch,2 and Nikon, a presbyter, were successively orphanotrophoi, and in a constitution of that Emperor (C. I. i. 3. 34, A.D. 472) reference is made to Zotikos qui prius huiusmodi pietatis officium inuenisse dicitur. Theophanes records that in A.D. 571-2 (244,) Justin II began to build the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, έν τῷ ὀρφανοτροφείφ. According to the Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ΙΙΙ περί κτίσματων, 47, p. 235, του άγιου Παῦλου το δρφανοτροφείου ανήγειρεν 'Ιουστίνος και Σοφία' ώσαύτως και τον όσιον (Ζωτικόν τὸ Δεύτερου) καὶ ἐτύπωσεν ἀναπαύεσθαι τοὺς λωβοὺς ἐκεῖ καὶ σιτηρέσια λαμβάνειν. παρίστατο δε Ζωτικός δ πρωτοβεστιάριος αὐτοῦ τοῖς κτίσμασιν (cp. 164, p. 267). M. Schlumberger has published a small seal, with the busts of SS. Peter and Paul on the obverse, and on the reverse a monogram surrounded by the legend OPPANOTPOPI'.3 This seal he dates from the reign of Justinian, for the same monogram appears on some bronze coins of that Emperor and has been explained as ΦΙΟΥCTINIANOV.4 This interpretation is, I think, erroneous. The true interpretation is, I have no doubt, 'Ιουστίνου καὶ Σοφίας,<sup>5</sup> and we may infer that the coins, as well as the seal, were connected with the foundation of the new orphanage by Justin II and Sophia.

From this evidence it may perhaps be deduced that before the time of Leo I, and most probably in the fourth century, an orphanage was founded in Cple by a certain Zotikos, whose piety was rewarded by the title of  $\delta\sigma\iota\sigma$ . Justin and Sophia founded a new orphanage, which was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, and restored the house of Zotikos, which was perhaps converted into a home for lepers  $(\lambda\omega\beta\sigma\tau\rho\sigma\phi\epsilon\hat{\iota}\sigma\nu)$ . Both these establishments were under the

<sup>1</sup> Mordtmann, Esquisse topographique, 50.

<sup>2</sup> Theodoros Lector, i. 13 τοῦ ὀρφανοτρόφου; Evagrius, ii. 11 τοῦ καταγωγίου τῶν ὀρφανῶν προειστήκει.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mél. 299 and Pl. xiv. 16; Sig. 380.

Sabatier, Description générale, i. 86, 191. Wroth, Imperial Byzantine Coins,
 i. 72. Φ is supposed to represent Φλανίου.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Another group (Wroth, ib. 73) omits the κ(ai).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The tradition was that he lived in the time of Constantius II,  $\Pi d\tau \rho \iota a$ , ed. Preger, p. 235.

Control of the δρφανοτρόφος, who was probably always an ecclesiastic. We do not know how he was appointed in early times, but we may probably conjecture that he was appointed by the Emperor, at all events since the reign of Justin II. In the ninth century he appears as one of the great officials who may hold Patrician rank. Cp. Takt. Usp. 117 δ πατρίκιος καὶ δρφανοτρόφος. A letter of Theodore Studites (i. 29, ed. Migne) is addressed Λέοντι δρφανοτρόφφ, and this Leo was a Patrician, as his wife is mentioned in the letter as τῆς κυρίας, τῆς πατρικίας.

Judging from his officium, the Orphanotrophos does not seem to have possessed any control over, or duties regarding, provincial orphanages. Other public charitable institutions ( $\xi\epsilon\nu\sigma\delta\alpha\chi\epsilon\hat{i}a$ ,  $\epsilon\hat{v}a\gamma\epsilon\hat{i}s$   $o\hat{i}\kappa\sigma\iota$ , &c.) were subject to the administration of the Chartulary of the Sakellion and the Great Curator. The Orphanotrophos, therefore, cannot be rightly described as a minister of assistance publique.<sup>2</sup>

(1, 2) Χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ οἴκου and χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ ὁσίου. There were thus two distinct establishments under the Orphanotrophos, each of which had its staff of accountants. We may take it that these establishments were the new Orphanotropheion ('St. Paul') founded by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Nicetas, Vit. Ignatii Patriarchae, in Mansi, xvi. 275. Nicephorus, Bishop of Nicaea, became ὀρφανοτρόφοs. A letter of Photios (186, ed. Valettas) is addressed Γεωργίω διακόνω καὶ ὀρφανοτρόφω, but it is not clear that this person was the orphanotrophos; he may have been the director of some provincial orphanage.

The most famous orphanotrophos, John (brother of Michael IV), who virtually governed the Empire for some years, was a monk.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On the general subject of *l'assistance publique* see Ducange, *Cplis. Christiana*, B. iv, c. ix, and Schlumberger, *Mél.* 281 sqq. Cp. also Pargoire, *L'Église byzantine*, 80 sqq., 324 sqq.

Justin and Sophia, and called  $\delta$  οἶκος, and the older foundation bearing the name of  $\delta$  δσιος Zωτικός. A late seal (thirteenth century) is preserved (Sig. 155) of Niketas, Bishop of Ionopolis and χαρτουλαρίφ τοῦ μεγάλου 'Ορφανοτροφείου.

- (3) ἀρκάριος. If the singular is right, both houses had a common arca and treasurer. For ἀρκάριος cp. Justinian, Nov. 163 β', p. 353; Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri, I. cxxvi. 15 (A.D. 572).
- (4) κουράτωρες. Perhaps the curators of dependent or affiliated institutions.

#### V. δημοκράται.

# (1) δ δήμαρχος των Βενέτων, (2) δ δήμαρχος των Πρασίνων.

The organization of the demes  $(\delta \hat{\eta} \mu \omega_i, \mu \epsilon \rho \eta)$  of Constantinople is a subject in itself,<sup>2</sup> and I do not propose to go into it here, or to discuss the functions of the officials, closely connected as they are with the hippodrome and the horse races. It must be sufficient to observe that there were four demes, the Blues and Greens of the city, and the Blues and Greens of the Asiatic suburbs. The city Blues, of  $\pi \delta \lambda \iota \tau \iota \kappa \delta l$  Bévetoi, and the city Greens, of  $\pi \delta \lambda \iota \tau \iota \kappa \delta l$  Bévetoi, were under Demarchs; the suburban Blues, of  $\pi \epsilon \rho \alpha \tau \iota \kappa \delta l$  Bévetoi, and the suburban Greens, of  $\pi \epsilon \rho \alpha \tau \iota \kappa \delta l$  Inpáguiou, were respectively under the Domestic of the Schools and the Domestic of the Excubiti, who, acting in this capacity, were called Democrats. But the term  $\delta \eta \mu \omega \kappa \rho \delta \tau \eta s$  was applied in a general sense also to the Demarchs (Phil. 715<sub>20</sub>).

The demarch might have the rank of  $d\nu\theta\dot{\nu}\pi\alpha\tau$ os. The ceremony of his creation is described in *Cer.* i. 55.

- 1. δ δευτερεύων. Cp. Cer. 269<sub>16</sub>, 798<sub>20</sub>.
- 2. δ χαρτουλάριος. The text of Philotheos is confusing; he should have used either the plural or the singular throughout. That each of the two demes had its chartularius is shown by Cer. 799<sub>2</sub>.
  - 3.  $\delta \pi o i \eta \tau \dot{\eta} s$ . Cer.  $272_{17}$ ,  $799_5$ .
- 4. δ ἄρχων. Is this the same as δ μαΐστωρ (Cer.  $272_{18}$ )? In Cer.  $269_{16}$  τοῦς λοιποῦς ἄρχουσι τοῦ μέρους seems to mean the chartularius, the ποιητής, and the μελιστής.

<sup>1</sup> The explanation of Vogt (Basile Ier, 171) is impossible. 'Les chartulaires "τοῦ οἴκου" administraient probablement la partie matérielle de l'orphanotrophion tandis que les chartulaires "τοῦ ὁσίου" en avaient l'administration morale, religieuse et intellectuelle.' τοῦ ὁσίου could not possibly signify 'l'administration morale', &c., nor would the instructors be called χαρτουλάριοι.

<sup>2</sup> See Uspenski, *Partii tsirka i dimy v Konstantinopolie*, Viz. Vrem. 1. 1 sqq. 1894. The demes were the urban populace organized as a local militia. For their importance in Egypt (fourth to seventh centuries) cp. M. Gelzer, Stud. zur

byz. Verw. Aegyptens, 18, n. 2,

5. δ γειτονιάρχης. Cer. 799, 269<sub>16</sub>, 271<sub>10</sub>, 272<sub>16</sub>.

6. δ μελιστής. Cer. 7996, 27217.

7. δ νοτάριος. Cer.  $111_5$ ,  $271_5$ ,  $_{11}$ . As the notarius was distinct from the chartularius (cp. also Philotheos,  $738_{14}$ ), the text in Cer.  $272_{17}$  δ νοτάριος ήτοι δ χαρτονλάριος should be corrected by the omission of ήτοι.

8. οἱ ἡνίοχοι. I write the plural supposing that the φακτιονάριος and the μικροπανίτης are meant. Cp. Cer.  $338_{12}$ , and  $799_3$ , where, after the chartularii, are enumerated ὁ φακτιονάριος Βενέτων, ὁ φ. Πρασίνων, ὁ μικροπανίτης λευκός, ὁ μ. ῥούσιος. Cp.  $337_{17}$  οἱ δύο φακτ. καὶ οἱ δύο μικρ.

9. τὰ πρωτεία. Cp. Cer. 269, 337,

10. δημώται.

The names of many other officials of the demes will be found in Cer. 799 (cp. 804); also 310 sqq., 352, &c.

It is to be noted that there was a staff of Hippodrome officials who were not under the control of the Demarchs,  $\dot{\eta}$   $\tau \dot{\alpha} \xi \iota s$   $\tau o \hat{v}$   $\iota \pi \pi o \delta \rho o \mu \iota o v$ . Their titles will be found in *Cer.* 799–800, and 804. The chief of them was the Actuarius. In *Cer.* 341<sub>14</sub> he stands in the Kathisma of the Hippodrome. For his duties cp. ib. 366<sub>5</sub>, 304<sub>12</sub>. In Philotheos he is not assigned to any officium but is mentioned several times. He may be a spathar, 735<sub>18</sub> (in Takt. Usp. 127 he is of lower rank). He is entertained at Imperial banquets, 750<sub>19</sub>, 758<sub>20</sub>, 774<sub>4</sub>.

# VI. στρατάρχαι.

# (1) δ έταιρειάρχης.

The Hetaeriarch or Great Hetaeriarch was the captain of the  $\beta a\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\dot{\gamma}$   $\dot{\epsilon}\tau a\iota\rho\epsilon\dot{\iota}a$ , a body of guards, largely foreigners, who were in close personal attendance upon the Emperor. He is not mentioned in the Takt. Usp., nor in the first list of Philotheos; but he appears in the classified list; and in the Jerusalem MS. he occurs in the general list after the drungarios  $\tau\dot{\eta}s$   $\beta\dot{\iota}\gamma\lambda as$ . The Hetaeriarch existed in A.D. 867 (Andreas, George Mon., ed. Bonn, 817<sub>18</sub>, and in A.D. 867 Artavasdos a Persian, ib. 838<sub>7</sub>) and under Basil I, in whose reign we find Stylianos holding the post of  $\mu\iota\kappa\rho\dot{\delta}s$   $\dot{\epsilon}\tau a\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\dot{\delta}\rho\chi\eta s$ , and Michael Katudares that of  $(\mu\dot{\epsilon}\gamma as)$   $\dot{\epsilon}\tau a\iota\rho$ . Under Leo VI we meet Nikolaos, a confidant of the Emperor, holding the office of Hetaeriarch (Cont. Th. 361<sub>7</sub>). One of the most important duties of the  $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\gamma as$   $\dot{\epsilon}\tau a\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\dot{\delta}\rho\chi\eta s$  was to protect the Emperor against plots (cp. the action of Nikolaos, ib.,

<sup>2</sup> Georg. Mon. 846<sub>13</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> To be distinguished from the έταιρεία of a στρατηγός.

and also Cont. Th. 470<sub>2</sub>). Romanus I was created Hetaeriarch, with the rank of magister, before he became Basileopator; he was succeeded in the post by his son Christophoros (Cont. Th. 394-5).

From the fact that Hetaeriarchs are not mentioned either in Takt. Usp. or in the first list of Philotheos (transcribed from an older list), we may perhaps infer that they were first created in the reign of Michael III. But the ἐταιρεία was an older term. In Takt. Usp. we find πρωτομανδάτορες τῆς ἐτερίας (129). We must, I think, identify the Hetaireia with the body of troops called φοιδεράτοι in the early part of the ninth century. The evidence for the φοιδεράτοι was cited above (p. 63, in connexion with a passage in Kudâma). We saw that they were under τουρμάρχαι, who are mentioned in the Takt. Usp. We may conclude that in Michael's reign these troops were reorganized, and that the turmarchs were replaced by Hetaeriarchs.

The organization presents some difficulties. We have seen that there was a μικρὸς ἐταιρειάρχης in Basil's reign. This seems to imply α μικρά έταιρεία. We often hear of ή μεγάλη έταιρεία (Cer. 519,  $553_{18}$ , &c.) and of  $\dot{\eta}$   $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \eta$   $\dot{\epsilon} \tau \alpha \rho \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\alpha}$  (518<sub>19</sub>, 553<sub>10</sub>, &c.); but never, so far as I know, of ή μικρά έτ. Yet the existence of the latter seems to be implied by the term  $\mu \epsilon \sigma \eta$ , which must have meant an intermediate body between the great and the little Hetaireiai. The only possible explanation seems to be that a little Hetaireia, which existed under Basil, was afterwards abolished; we do not hear of a little Hetaeriarch after his reign. In the tenth century we find that the μέση or μεσαία (Cer. 576) was under the ἐταιρειάρχης as well as the μεγάλη, and ή έταιρεία, used without qualification, seems to have included both bodies. This may be inferred from Cer. ii. 1, where the daily opening of the palace is described. When the papias opens the doors in the morning, he is accompanied by the Hetaeriarch μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων της έταιρείας και των της έταιρείας έβδομαρίων. Presently the members of the έταιρεία break up into two parts, those of the μέση (518<sub>19</sub>) and those of the  $\mu \epsilon \gamma \dot{\alpha} \lambda \eta$  (519<sub>1</sub>). We find them distinguished in other passages of the Ceremonies (553, 576, 607).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vit. Euthymii, i. 11 mentions the presence of members of the Hetaireia at the hunting expedition in which Basil I met his death; Stylianos was also present.

καὶ τῶν Φαργάνων καὶ Χαζάρων. Cont. Th. 358 Χαζάρους τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρείας τοῦ βασιλέως Λέοντος. Pharganoi as well as the Hetaireia attended Basil I in his fatal hunting expedition in A.D. 886 (Vit. Euthymii, i. 12). Among the troops sent to South Italy in A.D. 935 were thirty-one of the μεγ. ἐτ., forty-six of the μέση, forty-five Pharganoi, and forty-seven Khazars (Cer. 660). An appointment to the μεγ. ἐτ. cost a minimum of sixteen litrae, to the μέση a minimum of ten, to the Pharganoi or Khazars a minimum of seven (Cer. 692–3). Philotheos mentions (772, ) οὶ ἐθνικοὶ τῆς ἐταιρείας οἶον Τοῦρκοι, Χαζάρεις καὶ λοιποί. Turks means Hungarians in Byzantine writers of this period, though it would have been a perfectly proper description of the Φαργάνοι, who were Turks from Central Asia (Transoxiana and especially Ferghana, whence their name).

Each division of the  $\epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \rho \epsilon i \alpha$  had its own commanders (οἱ ἄρχοντες τ.  $\epsilon \tau$ . Cer.  $518_5$ ); the  $\mu \epsilon \gamma \dot{\alpha} \lambda \eta$  and the  $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \eta$  had each its  $\dot{\epsilon} \beta \delta o \mu \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota o \iota$  or  $\tau \alpha \rho \epsilon \beta \delta o \mu \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota o \iota$  (ib.). The  $\mu \epsilon \gamma \dot{\alpha} \lambda \eta$  had a logothete, Anon. Vári, 6  $\dot{\delta} \tau \dot{\eta} s$   $\mu \epsilon \gamma$ .  $\dot{\epsilon} \tau$ .  $\dot{\delta} \lambda o \gamma o \theta \dot{\epsilon} \tau \eta s$ . Protomandatores of the Hetaireia are mentioned in Takt. Usp. 129.

The Hetaireia is constantly found in association with the  $\mu\alpha\gamma\kappa\lambda\alpha-\beta^{2}\tau\alpha\iota$ , who were perhaps also under the control of the Hetaeriarch. For the duties of the Hetaeriarch and Hetaireia in guarding the Imperial tent see  $\pi\epsilon\rho$   $\tau\alpha\xi$ . 481. For his appearance in ceremonies in association with the  $\pi\alpha\pi\iota$  (both these officers were responsible for the safety of the palace) see Cer. 116<sub>5</sub>, 122<sub>5</sub>. Cp. also 442<sub>15</sub>. The Hetaeriarch might be a eunuch, Phil. 784<sub>14</sub>.

# (2) ὁ Δρουγγάριος τοῦ πλοίμου.

The history of the naval commands in the seventh and eighth centuries has been elucidated by Diehl and Gelzer. Before Leo III the navy was under the supreme command of a high admiral entitled στρατηγὸς

¹ It seems probable that there may have been  $\Phi a \rho \gamma \acute{a} \nu \iota$  among the subjects of the Caliph who deserted to the Empire in the days of Babek's rebellion, under Caliph Mamûn. This is suggested by the case of Theophanes  $\acute{o}$   $\acute{e}\kappa$   $\Phi a \rho \gamma \acute{a} \nu \omega \nu$ , Georg. Mon., ed. Bonn., 815 and 821. It is suggested by Reiske (860) that the obscure  $\acute{o}$   $\beta \acute{a} \rho \beta a \rho o s$  in Phil. 725<sub>5</sub> may be the Hetaeriarch, so called as commander of foreign troops, but see above, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Anon. Vári,  $5_{24}$ ; Cer.  $9_{16}$  το μαγλάβιον και ή έταιρεία,  $7_{19}$ ,  $25_{24}$ ,  $607_{13}$ . We meet μαγλαβίται who were candidati (Phil.  $786_8$ ), stratores (ib.  $736_{18}$ ), and protospathars (ib.  $785_{10}$ ). Some of them were stationed in the Lausiakon, but they are not necessarily to be included among οί τοῦ λαυσιακοῦ ἄρχοντες ( $785_{17}$ ); for we find the stratores of the μαγλάβιον distinguished from the stratores of the Lausiakon ( $736_{18}$ ); μαγλάβιον seems to have meant a stick, see Reiske, 53 sqq. It occurs in the sense of 'stripe', De adm. imp.  $236_{10}$ ; George Mon., ed. Bonn,  $804_{13}$ .

τῶν Καραβισιάνων. Under him was the δρουγγάριος τῶν Κιβυραιωτῶν (a post held by Apsimar before he became Tiberius III). Leo III abolished the great naval command, and subdivided it. He raised the drungarios of the Kibyrrhaeots to the rank of strategos.1 The other principal naval theme, that of Dodekanesos or the Alyalov  $\pi \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \alpha \gamma os$  was under a drungarios during the eighth century,<sup>2</sup> and until the reign of Michael III. For in the Taktikon Uspenski (120) the title is  $\delta$  drovyyápios τοῦ Alyalov  $\pi \epsilon \lambda$ áyovs. The third naval theme, that of Samos, is not mentioned in the eighth century, nor does it appear in the Takt. Usp. It follows that it was instituted under Michael III, Basil I, or in the early years of Leo VI, as it is registered in the lists of Philotheos. According to Constantine Porphyrogennetos (Them. i, p. 41) Samos was formerly the capital τοῦ θέματος τῶν πλωϊζομένων (which must be equivalent to the  $\theta$ . των Καραβισιάνων). When this large naval province was broken up Samos was probably included in the drungariate of the Aegean Sea.

The provincial fleets were known as δ θεματικὸς στόλος.<sup>3</sup> Independent of them, there was always a fleet at Constantinople under the command of δ δρουγγάριος τοῦ πλοίμου. It is not improbable that this commander existed already in the seventh century, subordinate to the stratêgos of the Karabisians. He is not mentioned in the eighth century, but there can be no doubt that the office existed then, and the fleet of Constantinople must have formed part of the squadron of 800 chelandia which conveyed an army to the Bulgarian coast in the reign of Constantine V.<sup>4</sup> δ δρουγγάριος δ τοῦ πλοίμου appears in the Taktikon Uspenski (120), where his rank is inferior to that of all the Domestici and Chartularii. He comes immediately after the Protostrator and before the ἐκ προσώπου τῶυ θεμάτων. This fact has considerable importance. It shows that in the interval between the early years of Michael III and A. D. 900 the post of the Drungarios had become considerably more distinguished and important; for in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Theoph. 410<sub>6</sub>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A δρουγγάριος τῆς Δωδεκανήσου meets us in A. D. 780 (Theoph 454<sub>19</sub>). This record shows that Isaac, the father of Theophanes the chronographer, bore the title of drungarios and not strategos. For as he died when his son was a child and his son was born in A. D. 759, he must have held the post before A. D. 780. The text in the Vita (ex officio festi eius diei) is (de Boor, ii. 28) τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς τελευτήσαιτος ἐν τῆ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διεπομένη τῶν Αἰγαιοπελαγητῶν ἀρχῆ. Gelzer (80), ignoring this decisive passage, leaves the question open.

 $<sup>^{5}</sup>$  Cont. Th.  $55_{19}$ ,  $79_{17}$ . The three themes of the Kibyrrhaeots, the Aegean Sea, and Samos were the naval themes par excellence, cp. Cer. 656 διὰ τῶν πλοίμων τῶν γ' θεμάτων, &c., but it must be remembered that other themes, e. g. Hellas, Peloponnesus, Cephallenia, Paphlagonia, had small naval establishments.

<sup>4</sup> Theoph. 43230.

Philotheos he comes immediately after or immediately before the Logothete of the Course (the order varies), and is superior to the Domestics of the Hikanatoi and Numeroi, to all the Chartularioi, and to several other officials who had formerly preceded him in rank. This change corresponds to the revival of the importance of the fleet in the ninth century—a revival which is generally set down to Basil I and his son, but which really began under Michael III. We may be confident that the Drungariate had attained its new eminence when it was filled by Nicetas Ooryphas, a Patrician, in the reign of Basil. The fleet which was commanded by the Drungarios was now distinguished (from the thematic fleets) as the Imperial fleet, τὸ βασιλικοπλόϊμον (Cer. 651<sub>18</sub>, 664<sub>8</sub>, &c.).¹

In the Taktikon Uspenski (120) we meet a naval commander who does not appear elsewhere,  $\delta$   $\delta$   $\rho$ ovyy  $\delta$  $\rho$ ios  $\tau$ o $\hat{v}$   $\kappa$  $\delta$  $\lambda$  $\pi$ ov. He is enumerated immediately after the drungarios of the Aegean.<sup>2</sup> The  $\kappa$  $\delta$  $\lambda$  $\pi$ os, so called without closer definition, must have been in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and we may, I think, infer that the naval establishment which was stationed at or near the capital was, in the eighth and early part of the ninth century, under two admirals, the  $\delta$  $\rho$ .  $\tau$ o $\hat{v}$   $\pi$  $\lambda$ o $\ell$  $\mu$ ov and the  $\delta$  $\rho$ .  $\tau$ o $\hat{v}$   $\kappa$  $\delta$  $\lambda$  $\pi$ ov. When the naval establishment was reorganized under or before Basil I, the latter command was abolished, and the whole fleet of Constantinople was placed under the  $\delta$  $\rho$ .  $\tau$ o $\hat{v}$   $\pi$  $\lambda$ o $\ell$  $\mu$ ov, who at the same time was elevated in rank and importance. The  $\kappa$  $\delta$  $\lambda$  $\pi$ os was hardly the inner part of the Golden Horn? (cp. Cont. Th.  $58_{11}$  èv  $\tau$  $\hat{\varphi}$   $\pi$  $\rho$  $\delta$ s  $B\lambda$ a $\chi$ é $\rho$ va $\iota$ s  $\kappa$  $\delta$  $\lambda$  $\pi$  $\varphi$ ). It was rather the Gulf of Kios?

It may be observed that the information given by Constantine Porphyrogennetos in De adm. imp. c. 51 concerns only the ships appropriated to the personal service of the Emperor, and not the navy. The organization of this service by Leo VI was probably subsequent to A.D. 900, as the officer who controlled the marines of the Imperial dromonia and agraria,  $\delta \pi \rho \omega \tau o \sigma \pi a \theta d \rho i o s$ , is not mentioned by Philotheos.

The officium of the drungarios of the fleet corresponds to the type of the Domesticates, in (1) the  $\tau \sigma \pi \sigma \tau \eta \rho \eta \tau \eta s$  (Const. De adm. imp. c. 51, p. 238), (2) the  $\chi a \rho \tau \sigma \upsilon \lambda \delta \rho \iota \sigma s$  (cp. Panchenko, ix. 386, ]έουτ[ι  $\chi$ ]  $a \rho \tau \sigma \upsilon [\lambda a] \rho (\iota \omega) \tau \sigma \upsilon [\beta (a \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \sigma \upsilon) \pi \lambda \omega] \iota \mu (\sigma \upsilon)$ , a seal of eighth or ninth century; and Niceph. presb. in Vit. MS. And. Sal. apud Ducange),

<sup>1</sup> At the time of Basil's accession Elias was ὁ περιφανέστατος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στόλου δρουγγάριος, Nicetas, Vit. Ign. apud Mansi, xvi. 257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The order is ὁ δρ. ὁ τοῦ πλοίμου, ὁ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν θεμάτων, ὁ δρ. τοῦ αἰγ. πελ., ὁ δρ. τοῦ κόλπου.

(3) the πρωτομανδάτωρ (Cont. Th. 401<sub>22</sub>), and (7) μανδάτορες, (4) the κόμητες, 1 and (5) κένταρχοι. But like the officium of a strategos it has (6) a κόμης τῆς ἐταιρείας (commander of foreign marines, esp. 'Pώς or Scandinavians).

For the  $\pi\rho\omega\tau$ oκάραβοι see De adm. imp. 237 (cp. Cont. Th.  $400_{13}$ ).

## (3) δ λογοθέτης των άγελων.

Philotheos includes the Minister of the Flocks and Herds among the  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\acute{a}\rho\chi\alpha\iota$ , though as a logothete one might expect him to be enumerated among the  $\sigma\epsilon\kappa\rho\epsilon\tau\iota\kappao\iota$ . But from his officium it appears that he had no  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\epsilon\tau\iota\nu$ , and his duties were entirely connected with the army. He controlled the management of the large tracts in Western Asia Minor where horses were reared for the supply of the army, in the  $\mu\eta\tau\acute{a}\tau a$  or military colonies. In the  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$   $\tau a\xi$ . 458–9 we find him distributing the burden of furnishing horses and mules among the various  $\mu\eta\tau\acute{a}\tau a$  of Asia and Phrygia, and transporting them to Malagina. (Cp. 460<sub>2</sub>.)

His province shows that he descends from the praepositus gregum of the Not. Dig. (Or.xiv.6), who was subordinate to the comes reiprivatae. The pascua and saltus of the res privata seem to have been largely utilized for military settlements, and were designated (perhaps already in the fourth century) as'  $\mu\eta\tau\dot{\alpha}\tau a$  ( $\mu\iota\tau\dot{\alpha}\tau a$ , John Malalas,  $347_{18}$ , cp. Theoph.  $72_{21}$ ). Compare Justinian, Nov. 150. 9, p. 265; Tiberius II, Nov. 12. 6, p. 29 ( $\mu\epsilon\tau\dot{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ ).

- (1, 2) ὁ πρωτονοτάριος ᾿Ασίας, ὁ πρωτονοτάριος Φρυγίας. We can infer that the μητάτα were entirely in Western Asia Minor; cp. the passage in  $\pi \epsilon \rho l \tau a \xi$ , referred to above.
- (3) We may identify the διοικηταὶ τῶν μητάτων with the procuratores saltuum of the Not. Dig.
- (4, 5) The Logothete, like the two Curators, has  $\epsilon \pi \iota \sigma \kappa \epsilon \pi \tau \hat{\eta} \tau a \iota$ , inspectors, who were doubtless a check on the διοικηταί. There is no evidence for the functions of the  $\kappa \delta \mu \eta \tau \epsilon s$ .

Schlumberger (Sig. 467) has published a late seal of a  $\chi a \rho \tau o \nu \lambda d \rho i o s$   $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu d \gamma \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ , not mentioned by Philotheos.

# (4) ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος τῶν βασιλικῶν.

οί βασιλικοὶ ἄνθρωποι frequently appear in the court ceremonies (e. g.  $Cer. 20_{20}$ ,  $30_{15}$ ,  $15_{7}$ ). They were divided into  $\tau \dot{\alpha} \xi \epsilon \iota s$  of different orders: spatharocandidati, spatharioi, stratores, candidati, and mandatores. Cp. Philotheos,  $769_{20}$  βασιλικών ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῶν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Phil. 750<sub>6</sub> τὸν κόμητα τοῦ πλοίμου, read τοὺς κόμητας.

σπαθαροκανδιδάτων μέχρι τῆς τάξεως τῶν στρατώρων, i. e. all the βασιλικοὶ ἄνθρωποι except the candidati and μανδάτορες (cp. 7735). The βασιλικοὶ σπαθάριοι (Cer. 75;  $10_{12}$  where they carry the Imperial arms) or σπαθάριοι of the σπαθαρίκιον; the βασιλικοὶ κανδιδάτοι (Phil. 76713, 7705); and the βασιλικοὶ μανδάτορες (Cer.  $81_{20}$ , Phil. 7705) were under the control of the πρωτοσπαθάριος τῶν βασιλικῶν; the stratores were under the Protostrator (see below); as to the spatharocandidati we are not told (cp. Cer.  $81_6$ ) and we may suppose that there was no τάξις of this order distinct from those who were on duty in the Chrysotriklinos (Phil. 73319), or the Lausiakos (ib. 734), or performed some other special service in the palace. The Protospatharios, as his name indicates, was originally the chief of the spatharioi, and his control was afterwards extended over the taxeis of the candidati and mandatores. For some of his ceremonial duties cp. Phil. 706.

The Protospatharios was also called δ κατεπάνω τῶν βασιλικῶν, cp. Cer.  $20_{20}$  οἱ βασ. ἄνθ. μετὰ καὶ τοῦ κατεπάνω αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ δομεστίκου αὐτῶν (so also  $6_4$ ,  $9_{15}$ ,  $568_9$ ), and δ κατεπάνω simply, Phil.  $709_{24}$ . In Anon. Vári.  $6_8$  the Katepano and the Domesticus are called οἱ κατεπάνω τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀνθρώπων. When the archon of Taron is introduced to the Imperial presence he is accompanied by the Katepano and the Logothete of the Course, Cer.  $138_{17}$ .

- (1) Under the Protospatharios was the Domesticus, who appears separately in the list of high officials, but without an officium of his own.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) σπαθάριοι. The earliest Imperial spatharioi were perhaps cubicularii who had a military character and bore a sword. Cp. Theoph. 181<sub>34</sub> Kalapodios cub. and spath., 185<sub>13</sub> κουβ. καὶ σπαθ., in the reign of Justinian. In the Acta cited in Chron. Pasch. sub A.D. 532, Kalapodios is designated as σπαθαροκουβικουλάριος. This seems to show that at that time there were other spatharioi also. In Peter the Patrician (Cer. 4029) we meet ὁ σπαθάριος τοῦ βασιλέως, and in Cass. Var. 3. 43 a spatharios of Theodoric. (Under Anastasius I the Duke of Pentapolis had a spatharios under him, Zachariä von L., S. B. of Vienna Acad., Feb. 17, 1879, p. 142; and probably other military governors and generals had military attendants known by this name. Nilus, at the beginning of the fifth century, addresses a letter Σισιννίω σπαθαρίω, i. 277, Migne, P. G. 79.) The σπαθάριοι βασιλικοί must be carefully distinguished from the σπαθάριοι of a strategos (cp. Pseudo-Maurice, Strat. 1.9; Leo, Tact. 14.81), and also from those who bore the title as an order of rank. There was a special hall in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Panchenko, ix. 386, has published a seal (saec. ix-x) of a πρωτοσπ. καὶ δομ. τῶν β.

Palace for the spathars, called the spatharikion (see e. g. Cer. 157, and cp. Bieliaev, ii. 238).

For seals of Imperial spatharioi see Schlumberger, Sig. 590-3, and note those of Theodore (No. 6) and Maurianos (No. 14) which he ascribes to the seventh century.

- (3) The κανδιδάτοι are said to have been instituted by Gordian and to have been chosen for their size and strength from the scholarii, Chron. Pasch., ann. 3.1 Their original connexion with the scholarian guards seems to be borne out by the ceremony of their creation described by Peter Patricius (Cer. 391). Candidati are mentioned at the beginning of the fifth century in the letters of Nilus, but we hear little of them till the sixth. From the passage of Peter we learn that they had a primicerius, and that their insigne was (as in the ninth century) a gold chain. In Procopius, B. G. 3. 38 (p. 468), we meet Asbados, who es τους κανδιδάτους καλουμένους τελών έτυχε, and was in command of a troop of cavalry at Tzurulon. A seventh century seal of a βασιλικός κανδιδάτος is published by Panchenko, viii. 231, cp. xiii. 79. The seal of CARELLU(S) CANDIDATU(S) in Sig. 459 is probably earlier. Drosos, Chartularius of Thrace in eighth or ninth century, had the rank of candidatus, ib. 122. For other seals cp. ib. 214 (turmarch of Sicily), 197, 355, &c.
- (4) We have already met μανδάτορες who acted as adjutants in the staffs of military and other functionaries (Stratêgoi, Domestics, the Logothete of the Course, &c.). Besides these there were Imperial mandatores (βασιλικοὶ μ.), one of whom acted as spokesman of Justinian in the Hippodrome on the occasion of the Nika revolt.<sup>2</sup> Theophylaktos, whose seal (eighth to ninth century) is published by Schlumberger, Sig. 536, was a dioikêtes who had belonged to the taxis of mandatores (βασιλικῷ μανδάτορι καὶ διυκίτι). For a few other seals see ib.

# (5) ὁ κόμης τοῦ σταύλου.

The κόμης τῶν βασιλικῶν σταύλων appears in the sixth century. The post was held by Baduarius, brother of Justin II (Theoph. 246<sub>14</sub>).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Vegetius, 2, 7, who describes them as milites principales qui privilegiis muniuntur.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Theoph. 182 sq. Two mandators, with ten excubitors, were sent to bring the Abbot Maximus to Constantinople in the seventh century, see Acta of the examination of Maximus in Migne, xc. 109. At the Second Council of Nicaea (A. D. 787)  $\delta$  λαμπρότατος βασ. μανδάτωρ enters the Council with a message from the Emperors, Mansi, xii. 1051.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Under Michael II we meet Damianus holding this office (κόμητα τοῦ β. ἱπποστασίου) with rank of protospathar. Cont. Th. 76<sub>15</sub>.

Formerly the praepositus or praepositi stabulorum stood under the comes rei privatae (Not. Or. xiv. 6), but they were also called comites stabuli (C. Th. 11. 17. 3, A. D. 401) and tribuni sacri stabuli (C. Th. 6. 13. 1, where C. I. 12. 11. 1 substitutes comites).

The officium has dropped out in the MS., but we have material for reconstructing it, at least partially. In  $\pi\epsilon\rho$  i  $\tau a\xi$ .  $459_{10}$  the higher officials, of  $\delta\rho\chi o\nu\tau\epsilon s$   $\tau o\hat{v}$   $\sigma\tau d\beta\lambda o\nu$ , are enumerated (cp.  $480_{15}$ ; Phil.  $732_{20}$  of  $\pi\rho\omega\tau o\sigma\pi$ .  $\kappa$ al  $\delta\rho\chi o\nu\tau\epsilon s$   $\tau \delta\nu$   $\sigma\tau d\beta\lambda\omega\nu$ , Anon. Vári,  $5_{22}$  of  $\tau o\hat{v}$   $\sigma\tau$ .  $\delta\rho\chi$ ., Cont. Th.  $231_4$ , though here  $\delta\rho\chi o\nu\tau\epsilon s$  is more general).

- (1) δ χαρτουλάριος. Takt. Usp. 128, Phil.  $737_{10}$ ,  $788_{23}$ ;  $\pi\epsilon\rho$ l ταξ.  $459_6$ ,  $476_{17}$ . He is distinguished as δ έσω χ. from δ χ. τῶν Μαλαγίνων, see below. Panchenko (ix. 390) has published a seal (tenth to eleventh century) in which the title seems to be χαρτουλαρίφ καὶ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν βασιλικῶν στάβλων.
- (2) δ ἐπείκτης. Takt. Usp. 128, Phil. 737, 789, περὶ ταξ.  $459_6$ ,  $478_{18}$ . An occupant of the post in the reign of Leo VI is named in Cont. Th. 362. The word means an overseer who presses a work on, ἐργοδιώκτης, cp. Theoph.  $442_{23}$ , 367,  $384_9$ .
- (3) δ χαρτουλάριος τῶν Μαλαγίνων (περὶ ταξ.  $476_9$ ,  $479_3$ ). Presumably the same as δ ἔξω. χ.,  $459_7$ . At Malagina there were important military stables.
- (4) δ σαφραμένταριος. The text here gives διὰ τῶν σαφραμέντων, but other passages in the same treatise,  $476_{10}$ ,  $479_4$ , show that it must be amended: either διὰ τοῦ σαφραμενταρίου or more probably διὰ τοῦ τῶν σαφραμέντων (cp. δ τῆς καταστάσεως, &c.). The meaning is unknown.
  - (5) of  $\delta'$  κόμητες των Μαλαγίνων (περί ταξ.  $479_5$ ,  $459_9$ ).

Besides these, there seem to belong here:

- (6) οἱ μ' σύντροφοι τῶν σελλαρίων (περὶ ταξ. 479<sub>2</sub>), οἱ σύντροφοι τῶν δύο στάβλων (Cer. 698<sub>22</sub>), sc. of the city and Malagina.
- (7,8) δ κελλάριος and δ ἀποθέτης. περὶ ταξ.  $478_{18}$  διὰ τοῦ ἀποθέτου τοῦ κελλαρίου τοῦ β. στάβλου, cp.  $479_{19}$  δ κόμης τοῦ σ. καὶ δ χαρτουλάριος καὶ δ κελλάριος. This κελλάριος must be distinguished from δ οἰκειακὸς κελλάριος, ib.  $464_{11}$ . See below, p. 121.

## VII. 'Αξίαι είδικαί.

## (1) ὁ βασιλεοπάτωρ.

This dignity was instituted, about six years before Philotheos wrote, by Leo VI, in order to give a pre-eminent political position to Zautzes Stylianos. Immediately after his accession (A. D. 886) he had appointed Stylianos to be Logothete of the Course, and conferred upon him the title of magister, with rank before the other magistri—

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a position designated by πρωτομάγιστρος. After the death of his wife Theophano (Nov. A. D. 893) he married Zoe (already his paramour), the daughter of Stylianos, doubtless in 894, and at the same time 2 conferred on Stylianos the new title of βασιλεοπάτωρ, or βασιλοπάτωρ.3 The general care of affairs of state was recognized as belonging to this office.4 The office of 'Empress's father' b was one which from its very definition could only be occasionally filled. It was conferred upon Romanus Lekapenos when the young Emperor Constantine VII married his daughter.

The quasi-imperial title added to the prestige and authority of Stylianos, but probably did not increase the sphere of his political power. As πρωτομάγιστρος he had been virtually prime minister. For Leo had interpreted μάγιστρος in the ancient sense of Master of Offices; in fact, he had revived that post, with a new meaning. In the long series of laws which are addressed to him, Stylianos is styled τῷ ὑπερφυεστάτφ μαγίστρφ τῶν θείων ὀφφικίων (Leo VI, Nov. 18 et sqq.). See above, p. 31. These laws were evidently promulgated before A.D. 894. Stylianos died in 896.6

# (2) δ 'Ραίκτωρ.

Philotheos is the earliest writer who mentions the Rector (whom Liutprand calls Rector domus, Antap. 6. 10), and we may assume with confidence that the post was not introduced before the latter half of the ninth century, by Basil I or by Leo VI. Basil the Rector, mentioned in George Mon., ed. Bonn, 837,, must have held the office in one of these reigns. The Rector's prerogative probably consisted in exercising some authority over the Imperial household. He appears (Cer. 23) along with the praepositi and the members of the κουβούκλειον. The ceremony of his creation (ib. 528) was probably composed in the reign of Constantine VII and Romanos II. He is mentioned in

1 Vita Euthymii, ii. 1 παρευθύ Στ. πρωτομάγιστρον καθίστησιν, Georg. Mon., ed. Bonn. 849 = Cont. Th. 354 προεβάλετο Στ. μάγιστρον καὶ λογοθέτην τοῦ δρόμου.

See above, p. 31.

3 This form occurs three times in the text of the Vita Euthymii.

βασιλόθυρα (see Ducange).

<sup>5</sup> It is commonly taken to mean 'Emperor's father'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vita Euthymii, ib. μετ' οὐ πολύ δὲ καὶ βασιλοπάτορα ἀναδείκνυσι. The chronology is well discussed by De Boor in his comments on this passage, 95-107. He concludes that Zoe was brought into the Palace, and her father created basileopator early in 894, and that the marriage was celebrated towards the end of the same year. Cp. Georg. Mon. 852.

<sup>4</sup> Vita Euthymii, ib. των ἐπερχομένων τῆ βασιλεία διοικήσεων τὴν ἐπιστασίαν καὶ φροντίδα ὁ αὐτὸς Στ. διέπων ἐγνωρίζετο.

<sup>6</sup> De Boor, Vita Euthymii, 105-7.

Cer. ii. 9, which seems to date from the reign of Michael III, but the passage in question is probably an addition of Constantine VII ( $544_{19}$ ). The Emperor Alexander created a cleric, named Joannes, Rector (Cont. Th. 379). He was one of those who assumed the direction of affairs at the time of the death of Alexander (Vita Euthymii, xxi. 1  $\sigma \dot{\nu} \nu \tau \dot{\phi} \, \dot{\rho} a (\kappa \tau \omega \rho \iota ' I \omega \dot{a} \nu \nu \eta)$ ; he continued to hold the office in the first years of Romanos I; and he was sent on a military expedition (Cont. Th. 399, 401, cp. 406; cp. Liutprand, Antap. 3. 26). The office was also held by a cleric under Constantine VII (De adm. imp. 241-2). The Rector occupied a prominent place in the ceremonies seen by Liutprand in the reign of Constantine VII (Antap. 6. 10).

Schlumberger has published a seal (eleventh century) inscribed Βασιλειω ραικτωρη (Mél. 243).<sup>2</sup> See also Konstantopulos, Nos. 139, 150, 488-9.

# (3) δ σύγκελλος.

The position and functions of the synkellos deserve a careful examination, but as they belong to ecclesiastical organization, lie outside the scope of the present study. The important point is that the synkellos of the Patriarch of Constantinople,<sup>3</sup> sometimes described as the synkellos of Constantinople,<sup>4</sup> was an Imperial official and appointed by the Emperor.<sup>5</sup> We may conjecture that his chief charge was occasionally to conduct communications between the Emperor and the Patriarch, but the duties seem to have been very light.<sup>6</sup> Synkelloi were not infrequently elevated to the Patriarchal throne, and it may be suspected that the Emperors of the ninth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The tenure of the office by clerics led Ducange (Gl. s. v.) to suppose that the office was ecclesiastical. Reiske (334) rightly denied this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the ninth century another Basil held the office, see Georg. Mon. 837<sub>11</sub> (ed. Bonn).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> George, the chronographer, e.g., is described as the synkellos of Tarasios (in the title of his Chronicle) and in Theoph. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Theoph. 164<sub>10</sub>.

That the Emperor appointed is a certain inference from the fact that the post was one of the Imperial ἀξίαι conferred διὰ λόγου. The account, in the Vita Euthymii (c. iv), of the appointment of Euthymios illustrates this. When Stephanos (son of Basil I), who had held the post, became Patriarch, he urged Euthymios to accept the office of synkellos, which is described as a βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα (58); and ὁ βασιλεὐs (Leo VI) συνευδόκει καὶ τὰ ὅμοια λέγων κατένευε. Moreover, Stephanos says that the synkellate was conferred on himself by his father (ἐκ πατρώου δωρεᾶs).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Vita Euthymii, ib. 5 καλὸν γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀβαρὲς καὶ ἀνεπίληπτον τὸ πρᾶγμα. He was expected to be constantly in the Palace, and to take part, like other members of the σύγκλητος, in some of the ceremonies, ib. 9. 10.

century aimed at making this succession a regular practice, since it would secure them the unrestricted appointment of the Patriarch.<sup>1</sup>

# (4) ὁ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ κανικλείου.

This official, generally called δ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείον, first appears in our sources in the ninth century. Under Michael II it was held by Theoktistos, and Genesios (23<sub>20</sub>) thus explains the meaning of the title: τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καλάμον ἐγκεχείριστο πρόνοιαν, δι' οὖ κανίκλιος ἐδοξάζετο. His duty evidently was to be present when the Imperial pen signed state documents, and he also signed for the Emperor. A bull of Manuel Comnenus (Nov. 63, p. 457) was endorsed διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείον καὶ δικαιοδότον Θεοδώρον τοῦ Στυπειώτον. He also prepared the codicilli of the Patricians, Phil. 710<sub>14</sub>. Such duties required no officium,² and the post was often combined with another office. Thus Theoktistos was at the same time Logothete of the Course, and A.D. 869 the post was held by Christophoros, who was protoasecretis (Acta of Fourth Council of Cple., Mansi, xvi. 409).

The title χαρτουλάριος shows that originally this official was one of

the chartularii of the σέκρετου.

## (5) ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ.

The Protostrator was strictly the chief of the taxis of stratores, whose duty originally was to assist the Emperor in mounting his horse (cp. Hist. Aug. xiii. 7 cum illum in equum strator eius levaret) and perform the duty of grooms (ἱπποκόμοι).<sup>3</sup> In the sixth century we meet a schola stratorum in the officium of the Praetorian Prefect of Africa (C. I. 1. 27, § 33). We meet a δομέστικος τῶν στρατώρων in the time of Justinian II along with a πρωτοστράτωρ τοῦ ὀψικίου. In a. d. 765 we meet a σπαθ. καὶ βασιλικὸς πρωτοστράτωρ (ib. 438<sub>15</sub>). See also Cont. Th. 18<sub>9</sub>, 24<sub>3</sub>. Basil, the Macedonian, began his career in the Imperial service as a strator and then became Protostrator (ib. 231). He had before been protostrator (chief groom) of Theophilitzes (ib. 225<sub>10</sub>).

The Protostrator rides beside the Emperor, with the Comes stabuli, Cer. 81<sub>18</sub>. At a triumph he rides close to the Emperor, with the flamullum, ib. 609<sub>10</sub>, and places the Imperial spear on the necks of

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the observation of Cedrenus (Skylitzes), ii. 581.

<sup>3</sup> C. Th. 6. 31. 1 (A. D. 365-373?) concerns stratores in the province of Nova Epirus, but it is not clear that they belong to the Emperor's personal service.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But there was a person described as  $\delta$  σκευάζων τὸ κανίκλειον—the manufacturer or mixer of the ink (Cer. 798<sub>16</sub>). καν. seems to have properly meant the inkbottle, cp. Ducange, s. v.

captives,  $610_{19}$ . He may introduce foreign visitors, instead of the Protospatharios  $\tau$ .  $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$ , or the Comes stabuli,  $568_{15}$ . In the age of Philotheos his place in the official hierarchy was not high, but in later times it grew in dignity and importance, and in the age of the Palaeologi it was one of the highest of all (Codinus, 9). Nicetas equates it with the marshal,  $\mu a \rho \ell \sigma \chi a \lambda \kappa \sigma s$ , of the western kingdoms.

(1) στράτωρες, τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατωρικίου Phil. 736<sub>19</sub>. Cp. Cer.  $81_{19}$ , 24. Most of the seals of βασιλικοὶ στράτορες published by Schlumberger are late, but there are two (Sig. 597) of the eighth to ninth centuries.

- (2) ἀρμοφύλακες (for ἀρματοφύλακες cp. ἀρματοφυλακεῖου, see Ducange, s.v.), meaning officials in charge of the  $\delta \rho \mu a \tau a = \delta \pi \lambda a$ , military gear in the Imperial ἀρμαμέντον. There is, however, a difficulty, for the ἀρμαμέντον, which was under the control of the Magister Officiorum (cp. Justinian, Nov. 108, §§ 1, 3), was managed under Phocas (Theoph. 297) by an official named δ ἐπάνω τοῦ ἀρμαμέντου, and he survived till the tenth century at least: see Phil. 736, δ σπαθ. καὶ ἄρχων τοῦ ἀρμ., and 788,; Cer. 673, (a protospatharios, A.D. 949) and 676, τοῦ κατεπάνω τοῦ ἄρματος (so Reiske, but the MS. has ἀρμα<sup>τ</sup>, and we should unquestionably read ἀρμαμέντου). The difficulty is that he is not mentioned in the official lists of Philotheos. It is hardly possible to regard him as included under the ἀρμοφύλακες. One would expect him to be mentioned distinctly. In the Takt. Usp. he appears, δ ἄρχων τοῦ ἀρμαμέντου, immediately after ὁ τῆς καταστάσεως (124). The seal of an ἄρχων τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἀρμαμέντον is published by Konstantopulos, No. 186.
- (3) σταβλοκόμητες. They were three in number: the σταβλοκόμης της πόλεως, and οἱ δύο σταβλοκόμητες (? of Malagina), περὶ ταξ.  $478_{20}$ ,  $479_{1}$ .

## (6) δ ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως.

This official, generally called  $\delta$   $\tau \hat{\eta} s$   $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \tau \delta \sigma \epsilon \omega s$ , does not appear in the list of possible patricians, but may be a protospathar, in Philotheos (in Takt. Usp. he is a spathar or lower, 124, 127). The title may be rendered Master of Ceremonies. [The use of  $\kappa \alpha \tau \delta \sigma \tau \alpha \sigma \iota s$  in the sense of 'order' is illustrated by  $\pi \epsilon \rho l$   $\tau \alpha \xi$ . 503  $\tau \hat{\eta} \nu$   $\mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$   $\kappa \alpha \tau \delta \sigma \tau \alpha \sigma \iota \nu$   $\tau \hat{\eta} s$   $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega s$   $\kappa \alpha l$   $\phi \iota \lambda \delta \kappa \alpha \lambda l \alpha \nu$   $\hat{\eta} \tau \sigma \iota \mu \delta \sigma \alpha \tau \delta$   $\hat{\epsilon} \pi \alpha \rho \chi \sigma s$ .] The court ceremonial in former times was controlled by the magister officiorum, and a work on the subject, entitled  $\pi \epsilon \rho l$   $\tau \hat{\eta} s$   $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \tau \delta \sigma \epsilon \omega s$ , was compiled in the sixth century by Peter the Patrician who held that office. Under the magister was the scrinium dispositionum, of which the head was the

<sup>1</sup> τὸ θείον ήμῶν ἀρμαμέντον. It contained δημόσια ὅπλα.

comes dispositionum (C. Th. 6. 26. 10 and 18), and it devolved on him to arrange for the details of the Emperor's daily programme.  $\delta \epsilon \pi i \tau \hat{\eta}_s$   $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha \sigma \epsilon \omega s$  seems to descend from this functionary ( $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha \sigma \epsilon s$  may represent dispositio).

Under  $\delta$   $\tau \hat{\eta} \hat{s}$  καταστάσεωs were the  $\tau \hat{d} \xi \epsilon i \hat{s}$  of those orders of rank which Philotheos distinguishes as senatorial from Imperial in the stricter sense, namely, the  $\tilde{v}\pi \alpha \tau o i$ , the vestetores, the silentiaries, the apoeparchontes (for all of which see above under B, p. 23 sqq.). Besides these  $\sigma v \gamma \kappa \lambda \eta \tau i \kappa o i$  are also mentioned in the officium, which, if the text is correct, points to a lower class of  $\sigma v \gamma \kappa \lambda \eta \tau i \kappa o i$  not belonging to those five or higher orders. It is difficult to believe that such a class existed, and it seems to me highly probable, if not certain, that  $\sigma v \gamma \kappa \lambda \eta \tau i \kappa o i$  is an error for  $\sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \eta \lambda \dot{\alpha} \tau a i$ , who were a synklêtic order, and would naturally, along with the apoeparchontes, belong here.

We constantly find the Master of Ceremonies acting in conjunction with silentiaries, e.g. Cer.  $81_{15}$ ,  $127_{25}$ ,  $238_4$ ,  $503_6$ . From Phil.  $710_{10}$  we learn that a newly elevated Patrician gave a fee of twelve nomismata to the Master of Ceremonies,  $\mathring{a}vev \tauo\mathring{v} \mathring{o}\psi\iota\kappa lov$ , and a fee of eighty nom. to be divided among the  $\mathring{o}\psi\iota\kappa \iota ov$ . This is explained by the ceremony of the creation of Patricians, Cer. i. 47. The silentiarii act as an escort of the new Patricians; cp.  $239_{12}$ ,  $241_{7-9}$ .

(7) ὁ δομέστικος τῶν βασιλικῶν.

See above under ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος τῶν βασιλικῶν (VI. 4).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Pet. Patr. in Cer. 404<sub>3</sub>, 15, 405<sub>15</sub>.

#### D. DIGNITIES AND OFFICES OF THE EUNUCHS.

In the fifth century the cubicularii were the most important class of the Palace servants and were under the Praepositus. The other court servants were under the Castrensis s. palatii, so far as they were not under the Master of Offices.<sup>1</sup> The castrensis seems to have disappeared by the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> The cubicularii included the chief officials who had charge of the private wardrobe, the Imperial table and cellars, as well as the Imperial bedchamber.

The history of these domestic offices is parallel to the history of the offices of state in the principles of its development. (1) A number of the subordinate officials are elevated to independent, co-ordinate positions, and (2) titles of office are adopted as grades of rank.

The cubicularii of the bedchamber, who were specially distinguished as  $\kappa o \iota \tau \omega \nu \hat{\imath} \tau a \iota$ , are separated from the rest of the cubiculum, under their chief the Parakoimômenos, who becomes a high official. The private wardrobe becomes an independent office under the Protovestiarios, and similarly the service of the table under  $\delta \epsilon \nu \nu \nu \epsilon \nu \epsilon$ .

The rest of the cubiculum (οἱ κουβικουλάριοι τοῦ κουβουκλείου, distinguished from οἱ κ. τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτῶνος) seem to have remained under the Praepositus, and the primicerius s. cubiculi of the fifth century (Not. Dig., Or. i. 17) continued to be their chief (Phil.  $721_{21}$ , Cer.  $798_{17}$ ).

The servants who attended to the cleaning, heating, lighting of the Palace, the porters of the gates, &c., had probably been under the control of the castrensis. In the later period we find that two have been raised to the dignity of independent officials, the Papias and the Deuteros.

In a wide sense of the term all the eunuch officials belonged to the cubiculum. They were graded in eight ranks, and of these the praepositi, protospathars, primicerii, and ostiarii are described as οἱ προεστῶτες τοῦ μυστικοῦ κουβουκλείου (Phil.  $750_{16}$ ).  $^4$  ἡ τάξις τοῦ κ., Phil.  $705_{20}$ , seems to be used in the wide sense.

The term olkelakós (privy, domestic) may be explained here. We find it used of the Parakoimômenos (Phil. 7845), and of the private vestiarion (see above under  $\delta$   $\chi a\rho\tau$ .  $\tau o\hat{\nu}$   $\beta \epsilon \sigma\tau$ .). In the latter case it distinguishes the private from the public Imperial Wardrobe, and its most important significance is to limit the term  $\beta a\sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \delta s$ . There

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Mommsen, 513.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mommsen, ib., suggests that his place was taken by the cura palati.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cp. Phil., 734<sub>22-23</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Cer., 55116 των πραιποσίτων τοῦ κουβουκλείου.

were many βασιλικοί, of various ranks, who were not eunuchs and did not belong to the cubiculum, but were engaged in the more personal and domestic service of the Emperor in the Palace. These (protospathars, spatharocandidates, spathars, &c.) were distinguished as οἰκειακοί. Compare  $Cer.\ 100_{17}\ \tau \tilde{\omega}\nu\ \tilde{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \tauo\~{o}\ κουβουκλείου~καὶ βασιλικῶν οἰκειακῶν (and <math>103_{16}$ ). So in Takt. Usp. 118 οἱ οἰκ. πρωτοσπαθάριοι, 123 οἱ σπαθάριοι καὶ οἰκ., 128 οἱ οἰκειακοί (candidati, &c.), and cp. Phil.  $785_{22}$ . The σπαθάριοι, &c., who were under the Protospatharios τῶν βασιλικῶν were of course not οἰκειακοί, nor were the protospathars, &c., of the μαγλάβιον. On the other hand, the protospathars, &c., of the Chrysotriklinos (Phil.  $732_{17}$ ,  $733_{19}$ ) probably were οἰκειακοί.

We also find the term used of κριταί, Phil.  $733_{20}$  οἱ σπαθαροκ. οἱ οἰκ. καὶ κριταί. But  $732_{18}$  οἱ πρωτοσπ. καὶ κρ.,  $735_2$  οἱ σπαθ. καὶ κρ. These judges were doubtless those who were known later as the κριταὶ τοῦ βήλου or ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου (Zachariä von L., Geschichte des griechisch-röm. Rechts, 358 sqq.). οἰκειακοί seems to be used to distinguish them from the κριταὶ τῶν ῥεγεώνων who were under the Prefect of the City.

The financial office  $\hat{\epsilon}\pi \hat{l} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$  olketak $\hat{\omega} \nu$ , which was important in later times, was not instituted as early as the ninth century. The seal of Basil, a spathar who held this office, cannot be as early as Schlumberger thinks (Sig. 556).

# Ι. 'Αξίαι διὰ βραβείων.

Of the eight orders by which the eunuchs of the Palace were graded, they shared two in common with *barbati*, namely, the protospathariate and the patriciate. The others are, as already observed, names of office which have become grades of rank.

		_	
(1)	νιψιστιάριος Insigne	(βραβείον):	linen καμίσιον with purple
(2)	κουβικουλάριος	,,,	embroidery. καμίσιον edged with purple,
	σπαθαροκουβικουλάριος ὀστιάριος	"	and παραγαύδιον. gold-handled sword. gold band with jewelled
, ,	πριμικήριος -	,,	handle. white tunic with gold
(6)	πρωτοσπαθάριος	- 22	broidered shoulder pieces. gold collar with jewels and pearls.
	πραιπόσιτος πατρίκιος		ivory tablets, not inscribed. ivory inscribed tablets.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The meaning of πρωτοοικειακοί, 124, is not clear. For a seal of a protosp. καὶ οἰκειακός see Sig. 558.

# (1) νιψιστιάριοι.

The name of the  $v\iota\psi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\dot{\alpha}\rho\iota\upsilon\iota$  shows that their function was to preside over the Imperial ablutions. See  $Cer. 9_{17}$ . The linen καμίσιον (chemise), which was their emblem of rank, was  $\dot{v}\piοβλαττ\dot{\omega}μενον$  σχήματι φιαλίον, which I understand to mean, with the figure of a basin embroidered in purple.<sup>1</sup>

# (2) κουβικουλάριοι.

The denotation of cubicularii has been explained above. When the palace staff was arranged in grades of dignity the general term κουβικουλάριοι was naturally appropriated to one of the lowest.

## (3) σπαθαροκουβικουλάριοι.

We find among the cubicularii, in the sixth century, some who were also spatharii. Compare Theoph.  $185_{13}$  κουβικουλαρίους καὶ  $\sigma\pi a\theta a\rho i ovs$ . Kalapodios (ib.  $181_{34}$ ) and Narses (Chr. Pasch. 626, sub a. 532) were such. These eunuch spathars were afterwards distinguished from other  $\sigma\pi a\theta a\rho i o i \beta a\sigma i \lambda i \kappa o i$  by the compound  $\sigma\pi a-\theta a\rho o \kappa o v \beta i \kappa o v \lambda a\rho i o i 2$  (cp.  $\sigma\pi a\theta a\rho o \kappa a v \lambda i \lambda a v \theta v \pi a \tau o \pi a \tau \rho i \kappa i o i)$ . Cp. Conc. Const. IV (A. d. 869), Act 4 init., Mansi, xvi. 329 3; Cer. 148<sub>23</sub>.

## (4) δστιάριοι.

For the duties of the ostiarii (properly door-keepers) cp. Cer.  $10_3$ ,  $172_2$ , &c.<sup>4</sup> In A.D. 787 we meet John, a  $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \delta s$  do  $\sigma \iota \iota d \rho \iota o s$ , who holds the office of Logothete of the Stratiotikon (Mansi, xii. 1051). This is important, because it seems to prove that do  $\sigma \iota \iota d \rho \iota o s$  had become a title of rank as early as the eighth century. One of the ostiarii retained the original functions of the ost., see Phil.  $706_4$ ,  $_8$  d  $\beta a \sigma \iota \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \delta s$  do  $\sigma \iota \iota d \rho \iota o s$ . For seals of ostiarii, later than the ninth century, see Schlumberger, Sig. 560–1.

## (5) πριμικήριοι.

We saw above that the old primicerius sacri cubiculi continued to exist as a distinct official. There was also a primicerius of the Empress's bedchamber: Eustathius, Vita Eutychii, c. 85 (Migne, P. G. 86. 2, p. 2372  $\tau \hat{\varphi}$   $\pi \rho \iota \mu$ . Aὐγούστηs); a seal is preserved of Nikolaos, primicerius of the Empress Eudoxia in A.D. 1067 (Sig. 570).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Latin translation treats φιάλιον as = cucullus, a cowl.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cer. 244<sub>13</sub>, the text has σπαθοκουβικουλάριοι.

<sup>3</sup> Gregorios σπαθαροκ. is here described as ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> There were special quarters in the Palace for the ostiarii, called the ὀστιαρίκιον, Cer. 802<sub>22</sub>.

The domestic of the Great Palace was also called primicerius (see below under the Deuteros). The extension of the term to denote a rank is parallel to that of  $\mu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \iota \sigma \tau \rho \sigma s$ . Ostiarii who had been raised to the grade of primicerii sometimes designated themselves by both titles: cp. the seal of a  $\pi \rho \iota \mu$ .  $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \iota \kappa \dot{\sigma} s$  καὶ  $\dot{\sigma} \sigma \tau$ . καὶ  $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \dot{\iota} \tau \dot{\omega} \nu$  olkε $\iota \iota \alpha \kappa \dot{\omega} \nu$  in Sig. 138. This seems to be the meaning of  $\dot{\sigma} \sigma \iota \iota \alpha \rho \sigma \rho \iota \mu \iota \kappa \dot{\eta} \rho \iota \sigma \iota$  in Cer. 71<sub>21</sub> (not, as Lat. version gives, primicerii ostiariorum). For seals of primicerii see Sig. 407–8, 569–70. Cp. Cer. 259<sub>24</sub>, 574<sub>13</sub>.

## (6) πρωτοσπαθάριοι.

The insigne of the eunuch protospathars is described as  $\mu a \nu \iota \acute{a} \kappa \iota o \nu$ , necklet, which probably differed in shape from the  $\kappa \lambda o \iota \acute{o}s$ , collar, of the other protospathars; the pearls which Philotheos mentions were probably a further differentiation. Moreover, the eunuch protospathars had a special dress which Philotheos describes, a white tunic adorned with gold, in the shape of a  $\delta \iota \beta \eta \tau \acute{\eta} \sigma \iota o \nu$ , and a red doublet with gold facings. Cp. also Cer.  $574_{10}$ .

#### (7) πραιπόσιτοι.

In the fifth to sixth centuries the Praepositus s. cubiculi was one of the highest officials in the Empire, following in rank the Prefects and the Magister Militum (Not. Dig., Or. 1. 9). Besides his duties in the Palace, as head of the cubicularii, he was the minister in charge of the Imperial estates in Cappadocia. He exercised, doubtless, control over the castrensis and the primicerius s. cub. (cp. Böcking, Comm. ad Not. Occ. vii a); but on account of the loss of pages in the MSS. of the Not. Dig. we are unable to determine the organization of the s. cubiculum. The three chartularii of the s. cub. (Justinian, Nov. 16, p. 114) were probably under the primicerius. The Praepositus seems (as was shown above, p. 79) to have been deprived of his financial functions before the end of the sixth century.

There was also a praepositus of the Empress's bedchamber, cp. C. J. 12. 5. 3 and Peter Patr. (Cer. 418) οἱ δύο πραιπόσιτοι (A.D. 491).

In the seventh or eighth century  $\pi\rho\alpha\iota\pi\delta\sigma\iota\tau\sigma$ s (like  $\mu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\sigma$ s) became an order of rank. This change was connected evidently with another. The chief officers of the cubicularii who had been under the Praepositus (protovestiarius, &c.) became independent of any higher control than the Emperor's. But the old Praepositus continued to preside over part of the cubiculum (see above, p. 120), and he had important

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Theoph. 246<sub>17</sub> πραιπόσιτος τῶν κουβικουλαρίων. He was himself considered a cubicularius, cp. Chron. Pasch. 610, sub a. 518.

ceremonial duties to perform. The ceremonial functions which had devolved in the fifth and sixth centuries on the magister officiorum 1 belonged in the ninth and tenth to the πραιπόσιτος in conjunction with the officer known as ὁ τῆς καταστάσεως. We find a second praepositus taking part in ceremonies: Cer. 245,4 (δ ἔνδον πραιπ., i.e. the praepositus who was in the Chrysotriklinos, cp. Bieliaev, 2. 202). The Praepositus, at the distribution of Imperial bounties, received, if he were a patrician, as much as the magistri (Phil. 7844) and probably he was almost always a patrician (cp. 706, where δ πατρίκιος καὶ  $\pi \rho$ . precedes the other eunuch patricians, who precede the åνθύπατοι), though not necessarily. Cp. 730, and 784, (where we should probably read του πρωτοσπαθάριου καὶ πραιπόσιτου). Thus the Praepositus, although it is convenient to consider him here, more properly belongs under the higher grade of the patricians. He was sometimes distinguished from the other praepositi as δ πρωτοπραιπόσιτος (Cer. 527<sub>6</sub>).<sup>2</sup> Schlumberger has published a seal (Sig. 568), Βασιλείω πραιποσίτω, which he ascribes to the eighth or ninth century.

Under Basil I, Baanes the Praepositus was also Sakellarios. When Basil was absent on his expedition against Tephrike, Baanes acted as regent  $(\partial \pi o \mu o \nu \epsilon \psi s)$  in Constantinople, along with the chief Magister and the Prefect of the City: Constantine Porph. says that this used to be the customary arrangement  $(\pi \epsilon \rho l \ \tau a \xi. 503. \ \delta \ \delta \iota \epsilon \pi \omega \nu$  was another name for the  $\partial \pi o \mu o \nu \epsilon \psi s$ ,  $ib. 504_4$ ).

(0)

# (8) πατρίκιοι.

The eunuch Patricians had precedence over the ἀνθύπατοι καὶ πατρίκιοι, Phil.  $727_8$ ,  $730_{13}$ .

## ΙΙ. 'Αξίαι διὰ λόγου.

In his list of the offices which were appropriated to eunuchs, Philotheos names only the chiefs; he does not enumerate the sub-ordinates. Many functionaries connected with the palace-service are mentioned in our sources, but in consequence of this omission of Philotheos it is difficult to place them.

# (1) ὁ παρακοιμώμενος τοῦ δεσπότου.

Those of the κοιτωνῖται who slept adjacent to the Emperor's bedroom were called  $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \kappa \sigma \iota \mu \omega \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma$ : Theoph.  $453_{12}$  (A. d. 780), where

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the ceremonies connected with the reception of foreign ambassadors, the Logothete of the Course took the place of the Mag. Off., and in the tenth century the Logothete replaced the Praepositus in some other ceremonies. Cp. Bieliaev, ii. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Photius, Ερ. 122 Βαίνει πραιποσίτω καὶ πατρικίω.

three persons are designated as κουβικουλάριοι καὶ παρακοιμώμενοι. As it would always have been the duty of the chief of the κοιτωνῖται to sleep near the Emperor, he came to be called δ παρακοιμώμενος. The term occurs in Theoph. 285<sub>17</sub>, under the reign of Maurice (A.D. 602). At that time he was subordinate to the Praepositus (Ducange is, of course, wrong s.v. in identifying him with the Praepositus). We may conjecture that Stephen, the sacellarius of Justinian II, was also the parakoimômenos; Theoph. calls him πρωτοευνοῦχος (367). In the ninth century, the post was held by Scholastikos (an ostiarios) under Theophilus, and by Damianos (a patrician) under Michael III (De adm. imp. 231), who afterwards appointed Basil the Macedonian to this office, though it was supposed to be confined to eunuchs.¹ Under Basil the post was left vacant (ib.). Philotheos (784<sub>5</sub>) calls the p. δ οἰκειακὸς παρακοιμώμενος τοῦ—βασιλέως.

The seals of Parakoimômenoi are rare, and later than the ninth century. See Schlumberger, Sig. 562.

## (2) δ πρωτοβεστιάριος τοῦ δεσπότου.

The Protovestiarius descended from the old comes sacrae vestis of the fifth century. He presided over the private wardrobe (sacra vestis, olkelakòv  $\beta \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \acute{a} \rho \iota o v$ ) of the Emperor, to be distinguished from the public wardrobe which was under the Chartularius  $\tau o \hat{v}$   $\beta \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota a \rho lov$  (see above, p. 95).

This wardrobe was a store of much besides dress (see  $\pi\epsilon\rho$ )  $\tau\alpha\xi$ . 466 sqq.), and probably a treasury. It supplied the gratifications  $(\mathring{a}\pi \circ \kappa \acute{o}\mu \beta \iota a)$  which were given to the court officials at the Brumalia and on other occasions (cp. Cer.  $605_{14}$ ). There must have been a considerable staff, but we only know that the chief subordinate was  $\mathring{\delta}\pi \rho \iota \mu \iota \kappa \acute{\eta} \rho \iota o \mathring{\delta} \epsilon \sigma \tau$ .  $(\pi\epsilon \rho \iota \tau a \xi$ . 466<sub>8</sub>, cp. Leo, Gramm.  $300_{18}$ ).

For protovestiarii in the ninth century see Georg. Mon. 791 (Leo under Theophilus), 831 (Rentakios under Michael III), 845 (Prokopios, sent by Basil I on an expedition to Sicily), 855 (Theodosius, a patrician, under Leo VI)<sup>2</sup>. The second Basileus had a protovestiarius of his own (*ib*. 846), and likewise the Caesar (*ib*. 830). We also hear of a prot. of the Domestic of the Hikanatoi (*ib*. 847).

## (3) δ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ δεσπότου.

The post of  $\delta \ell \pi l \tau \hat{\eta} s \tau \rho a \pi \ell \hat{\zeta} \eta s$  or  $\delta \tau \hat{\eta} s \tau$ , was apparently important in the seventh century: in the *Acta Maximi*, c. 6, p. 120, we find

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See De adm. imp. 231<sub>17</sub>; Cont. Th. 206<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See also Vita Euthymii, ed. De Boor, i. 8, xiv. 1, viii. 10.

Sergios Eukratas  $\delta$   $\hat{\epsilon}\pi \hat{\iota}$   $\tau \hat{\eta}s$   $\tau$ .  $\tau \hat{\eta}s$   $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \hat{\eta}s$  taking part in an examination of Maximus. The full title seems to have been  $\delta o \mu \hat{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \iota \kappa o s$   $\tau \hat{\eta}s$   $\beta$ .  $\tau \rho a \pi \hat{\epsilon} \hat{\zeta} \eta s$ , see Mansi, xvi. 209 (A.D. 869) Λεοντίου τοῦ  $\hat{\epsilon} \nu \delta o \hat{\xi} \sigma \tau \hat{\alpha} \tau o \nu \hat{\alpha} \pi \hat{\sigma} \hat{\nu} \pi \hat{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu \kappa \alpha \hat{\iota}$   $\delta o \mu$ .  $\tau \hat{\eta}s$   $\beta$ .  $\tau$ . In the reign of Leo VI we find Constantine  $\delta \tau \hat{\eta}s$   $\tau$ . appointed to command a military expedition to South Italy (Cont. Th. 356<sub>17</sub>).

Under this minister was probably ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας (περὶ ταξ.  $463_9$ ,  $464_{10}$ ,  $491_8$ , cp. Phil.  $789_1$ ). Cp. Theoph.  $462_{11}$  ἐξῆλθε πᾶσα ἡ βασιλικὴ ὑπουργία καὶ ἡ κόρτη ἔως Μαλαγίνων (A. d. 786);  $390_{16}$ , 468. ὑπουργικά=supellex, ib.  $199_{19}$ ,  $303_2$ . We meet a νοτάριος τῆς ὑπουργίας in Leo Gramm.  $303_{18}$  (reign of Romanus I). Constantine, De adm. imp. 184, mentions Constantine, a protospathar, who was δομ. τῆς ὑπ., and afterwards became Great Hetaeriarch and ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος.

The καστρήσιος (castrensis) probably also belongs here: Phil.  $742_{11}$ ,  $744_{8}$  δ τερπνὸς κ.,  $744_{15}$  δ κλεινὸς κ.

The  $d\tau\rho\iota\kappa\lambda\hat{\iota}\nu a\iota$  are not to be placed here. The office seems not to have been confined to eunuchs (spatharocandidates Phil.  $733_{21}$ ), and they probably formed a distinct  $\tau d\xi_{1s}$ , possibly under the Praepositus.

## (4) δ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς Αὐγούστης.

This functionary among his other duties had the care of the private barques  $(\partial \gamma \rho \delta \rho \iota a)$  of the Empress: De adm. imp.  $235_{19}$ . Those of the Emperor were under the management of the  $\pi \rho \omega \tau o \sigma \pi a \theta \delta \rho \iota o s$   $\tau \hat{\eta} s \phi \iota d \lambda \eta s$ .

A seal is preserved of Nicetas Xylinites, who was ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης of Eudoxia, wife of Basil I. Suspected of an intrigue with his mistress he was tonsured (Georg. Mon. 843, ed. Bonn). He was πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς θεοστέπτου Αὐγούστης (Sig. 600). The incident shows that up to that time the office was not necessarily confined to eunuchs.

## (5) ὁ παπίας τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου.

The Papias <sup>1</sup> presided over all the service pertaining to the buildings of the Palace (the Great Palace, as distinguished from its adjuncts the Magnaura and the Daphne). He was responsible for the security of the doors and gates, and for all matters connected with cleaning, lighting, &c. The keys of the gates and doors were in his possession, and in the case of a Palace conspiracy a great deal might

¹ For the connexion of the name with  $\pi a\pi \hat{a}s$ ,  $\pi \acute{a}\pi \pi as$ ,  $\pi \acute{a}\pi \pi as$ , &c., cp. Bieliaev, i. 146, n.

depend upon his attitude.<sup>1</sup> As a rule he probably held the rank of protospathar.<sup>2</sup>

Under the Papias were:

- (1) διαιτάριοι, namely, οἱ διαιτάριοι τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου (Cer. 800<sub>9</sub>), or chamberlains-in-waiting, who had the care of the various rooms (δίαιται) in the Palace. They served in weekly relays and were hence called ἐβδομάριοι. Their chief was ὁ δομέστικος τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου (Cer. 800<sub>10</sub>; Bieliaev, i. 159).
- (2)  $\lambda o \nu \sigma \tau a l$  (Phil. 724<sub>4</sub>), who seem to have had the care of the baths (see Cer.  $554_{6-14}$ ,  $555_{18}$ ), and to include the  $\beta a \lambda \nu \iota a \rho l \tau \eta s$  and the  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \epsilon \mu \beta a \tau a \rho l \rho s$ .
- (3) κανδηλάπται (Phil. 724<sub>1</sub>) had charge of the lighting of the Palace; there were special κανδηλάπται for the Lausiakos and the Triklinos of Justinian (724<sub>5</sub>, 6).
- (4) καμηνάδες (Phil. 724<sub>5</sub>) had charge of the heating of the Palace, and seem to have been also called καλδάριοι (Cer. 800<sub>18</sub>, 803<sub>2</sub>).
  - (5) . ωρολόγοι (Phil. 7246) attended to the clocks.3
- (6)  $\zeta a\rho \dot{\alpha}\beta a\iota$  (Phil. 724<sub>6</sub>). Their duties and the meaning of the word are uncertain. Reiske (859) thinks that  $\zeta a\rho \dot{\alpha}\beta \eta_s$  is derived from the Arabic zarrab=pulsator, and that their function was to sound a gong  $(\sigma \dot{\eta} \mu a \nu \tau \rho o \nu)$  to announce the hours of divine service, &c.

The Papias and his subordinates have been very fully discussed by Bieliaev, i. 145-63.

# (6) ὁ δεύτερος τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου.

The Deuteros was the assistant of the Papias, and took his place when he was ill, but was independent of him, and had subordinates of his own. His special province was the care of the Emperor's chairs and thrones (and probably the furniture) in the Chrysotriklinos, as well as the curtains in those apartments, and all the Imperial apparel and ornaments which were kept there. See Phil. 724<sub>11</sub>.

His subordinates were:

- (1) of  $\partial \pi \partial \tau \partial \nu$  danagimes (Phil. 724<sub>13</sub>), the attendants who took care of the Emperor's apparel ('changes' of dress).
- (2) οἱ βεστήτορες (Phil. 724<sub>14</sub>), with their primicerii, arrayed the Emperor on ceremonial occasions (cp. Cer. 9, &c., &c.).
- (3) of  $i\pi i \tau \hat{\omega} \nu d\xi \iota \omega \mu d\tau \omega \nu$  (Phil. 724<sub>15</sub>), the keepers of the insignia and ceremonial dresses worn by persons who were invested with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Compare the part he played in the overthrow of Leo V and elevation of Michael II (Georg. Mon., ed. Bonn, 678, &c.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This is suggested by the context of 784<sub>14</sub>.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  Cp. Reiske, 559 ; Bieliaev, i. 162, n. Constantine,  $\pi\epsilon\rho i~\tau a\xi.~472.$ 

dignities. These σκεύη τῶν ἀξιωμάτων were kept in the Imperial wardrobes, some of them in the oratory of St. Theodore in the Chrysotriklinos (Cer. 640), of which the Deuteros kept the key (Cer. 623<sub>7</sub>). Philotheos says (ib.) that these officials σννάγονσιν τὰ ἀξιώματα παρὰ τῶν λαμβανόντων τὰs ἀξίαs, which is interpreted to mean that they collected the fees paid by the recipients of the orders or offices, but we should expect τὰs <math>σννηθείαs, not τὰ ἀξιώματα.

(4) οἱ διαιτάριοι. Phil. 724 ἐπέχει δὲ ὁ δεύτερος τὰ σελλία καὶ τοὺς διαιταρίους καὶ τὸυ πριμικήριου αὐτῶυ. Bieliaev (i. 180) thinks that these were distinct from the διαιτάριοι who were subordinate to the Papias, and this seems borne out by the words of Philotheos (72421) συνάγεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρων διαιταρίους, where Bieliaev is obviously right in explaining, 'of both the Papias and the Deuteros.' But I suspect that the διαιτάριοι τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου formed one τάξις and had one primikerios or domestic, who was at the disposal of both the Papias and Deuteros,¹ though some of the diaitarioi were appropriated to the duties over which the Deuteros specially presided. For these duties see further, Cer. 72.

For details see further, Bieliaev, i. 163-81.

(7) δ πιγκέρνης τοῦ δεσπότου, (8) δ πιγκέρνης της Αὐγούστης.

The text of Philotheos has here, in the first case,  $\epsilon \pi \iota \gamma \kappa \epsilon \rho \nu \eta s$ —a form (which occurs in other texts also, see Ducange, s.v.  $\pi \iota \gamma \kappa \epsilon \rho \nu \eta s$ ) evidently due to a false derivation from the preposition  $\epsilon \pi \ell$ .

(9) ὁ παπίας της Μανναύρας, (10) ὁ παπίας της Δάφνης.

The Magnaura and the Daphne, though closely connected with the Great Palace, had each a Papias of its own. In the case of the Daphne this was an innovation made in the reign of Michael III, see Georg. Mon. 816, ed. Bonn; and it is possible that the Magnaura, as well as the Daphne, was originally under the charge of the Papias of the Great Palace. The Domestic (of the διαιτάριοι) of Daphne, and the διαιτάριοι of Magnaura are mentioned, Cer. 800<sub>10</sub>, 17.

It is to be noticed that besides the διαιτάριοι of the Great Palace, of Magnaura, and of Daphne, there were other  $\tau d\xi \epsilon \iota s$  of διαιτάριοι serving in various parts of the Palace: thus the δ.  $\tau ο \hat{\nu}$  κουσιστωρίου, δ.  $\tau ο \hat{\nu}$  άγίου  $\Sigma \tau \epsilon \phi \dot{\alpha} \nu \circ v$ , δ.  $\tau \dot{\gamma} s$   $\dot{\nu} \pi \epsilon \rho \alpha \gamma i \alpha s$  Θεοτόκου, δ.  $\tau \circ \hat{\nu}$  δστιαρικίου, δ.  $\tau \circ \hat{\nu}$  στατωρικίου, δ.  $\tau \dot{\omega} \nu$   $\iota \theta'$   $\dot{\alpha}$  κουβίτων (Cer. 800).

<sup>2</sup> The  $\pi$ . is mentioned in Vita Euthymii, x. 12.

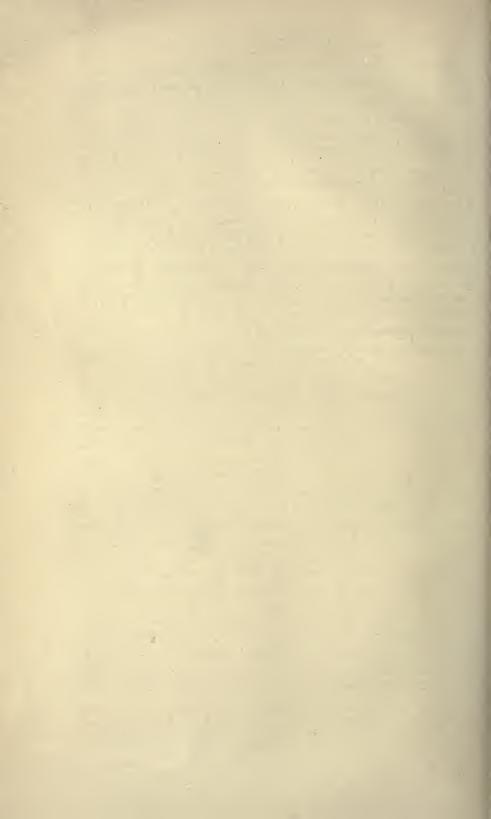
<sup>1</sup> In Phil. 721, the prim. is called ὁ πριμ. αὐτοῦ, sc. τοῦ δευτέρου.

I subjoin a list of officials mentioned by Philotheos, but not occurring in his lists of  $\tau \acute{a} \xi \epsilon \iota s$  and  $\sigma \acute{\epsilon} \kappa \rho \epsilon \tau a$ . Most of them have already been discussed incidentally.

- ό άδμηνσιονάλιος, see above under C. VII. 6.
- δ άκτουάριος, see above under C. V. 1 and 2 ad fin.
- ό ἄρχων τοῦ ἀρμαμέντου, see above under C. VII. 5 (2).
- δ βάρβαρος, see above under C. IV. 4 ad fin.
- ό δεκσογράφος, see above under C. III. 3.
- ὁ μινσουράτωρ,  $788_{21}$ . Cer.  $244_{17}$  εἶτα λαβὼν τὸν θυμιατὸν ὁ μινσουράτωρ ἡ καὶ ὁ παπίας τοῦ παλ. τοῦ μεγάλον; again,  $245_{16}$  ὁ μ., if a eunuch, raises the curtain (cp. schol. ad loc.). This official must be distinguished from the military μινσουράτωρες (who measured the ground for camps, computed road distances, &c.), frequently mentioned in tactical treatises (e.g. Leo, Tact. ix. 7). He is mentioned in Gen.  $125_{22}$ .

οί παραστάται τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ, Phil. 758<sub>20</sub>, 774<sub>5</sub>, cp. above under C. III. 3 (is the ἡλιακόν of the Chrysotriklinos meant?).

- οί τοποτηρηταί των χορών, Phil. 738,99.
- ό χρυσοεψητής, see above under C. IV. 6 (4).



ΑΚΡΙΒΟΛΟΙ ΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΩΝ ΚΛΗΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ-702-ΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ, ΚΑΙ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΞΙΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΛΗΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΜΗ, ΣΥΝΤΑΧΘΕΙΣΑ ΕΞ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΛΗΤΟΡΟΛΟΓΙΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ 5 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, ΜΗΝΙ ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΩΙ, ΙΝΔΙΚΤ. Γ΄, ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΤΙΣΕΩΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ , ΥΥΗ΄, ΥΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΣΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΤΡΙΚΛΙΝΟΥ.

Έπειδήπερ ήμας προετρέψασθε, ω φίλων άριστοι, είς τα των αρχαίων έπικύμψαι συγγράμματα, κάκείθεν του προκείμενου νούν της των άξιωτο μάτων τάξεως σαφή τῷ λόγω ἀκριβῶς παραστήσασθαι, φέρε δὴ τῷ περί ύμας έλκόμενοι πόθφ, καθ' όσον εφικτόν, τα εφετά της ύμετέρας αγάπης σχετικώς έκπληρώσωμεν. πολλών γαρ όντων καὶ μεγάλων τών παρά τοις άρχαίοις καταλειφθέντων άξιωμάτων, πολλή τε και μεγάλη και δύσληπτος ή περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχει σαφήνεια. καὶ γὰρ αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν 15 άξιωμάτων άμαυρωθείσαι τω χρόνω προσκλήσεις, άλλα μην και πάσαι αί μετ' εκείνας εφευρεθείσαι άξιωμάτων διαφοραί σύγχυσίν τινα παρεισάγουσιν της άκριβους αυτών καταλήψεως. και έπειδη την ημετέραν αμάθειαν 703 της ακριβούς τούτων καταλήψεως την συγγραφην εξητήσασθε, όσον τώ νῶ ἀμυδρῶς ἐκ τῶν πρώην ἐγκειμένων καὶ νῦν πραττομένων περιλαβεῖν 20 ηδυνήθημεν, τῆ ὑμετέρα φιλία περιφανώς ἐκτιθέμεθα. εἰδέναι γὰρ ὑμᾶς βουλόμεθα, ὧ φίλοι, ὅτι πάσα μὲν τεχνῶν ἐπιστήμη πρός τι εὐχρηστον τέλος των εν τω βίω συνέστηκεν. ή δε των αρτικλινών επιστήμη εν οὐδενὶ ἄλλω τὸ εὕχρηστον δείκνυσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τῷ τάξει καὶ συστάσει καὶ ακριβεί διαθέσει τας των αξιωμάτων διαφοράς διαστέλλειν. Γκαι γαρ πάσα 25 περιφάνεια βίου η ένδοξος αξιωμάτων αξία εν οὐδενὶ άλλω τοῖς δρωσιν ενδείκυυται, αλλ' η εν τη κλήσει της προκαθεδρίας της εν τη λαμπρά τραπέζη και περιποθήτω συνεστιάσει των σοφωτάτων ήμων βασιλέων. εί δέ τις έκ της ημών ἀπροσεξίας ἐπισφαλης προσγένηται σύγχυσις τοῖς βασιλικοῖς κλητωρίοις, οὐ μόνον τὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀξιωμάτων ἀρετὰς 30 καταριπτεί, άλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καταγελάστους καὶ ἀχρείους τῆς διακουίας παρίστησιν. διὸ οὖν, ἀγαπητοί, δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῆ τοιαύτη λαχόντας διακονίας προσοχή μελέτης και επιστήμης τας των αξιωμάτων κυριοκλησίας εν τῷ οἰκείφ νωὶ περιγράφειν, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως τὰς αὐτῶν διαιρέσεις καὶ ὑποδιαιρέσεις καὶ ἀκριβεῖς συστάσεις ἐκφωνεῖν καὶ ἐκτίθεσθαι.

His compendiis usus sum: L = Lipsiensis, H = Hierosolymitanus, B = Bekkeri ed. (Bonnensis), R = Reiskius. 702 Ι ΚΛΗΤΩΡΙΩΝ Β 3 ΚΛΗΤΩΡΟΛΟΓΙΩΝ Β 6 ΚΤΗ ΕΩΣ L Β: correxi 8 προετρέψασθαι L τὰs L Β 16 παρησάγουσιν L 703 22 συνέστικεν L 23 ἄλλο L 24 διαστέλει L

#### **(**Τόμος α'.)

30

#### 'Αρχή της ύποθέσεως τοῦ λόγου.

Των βασιλικων ἀξιωμάτων αἱ χάριτι Θεοῦ διδόμεναι δωρεαί, ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ τὴν ψῆφον λαμβάνουσαι, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ θαυμαστοῦ βασιλικοῦ βήματος τοῦ λαμπροῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου ἐν αἰσίαις ἡμέραις παρὰ τῶν θεοπροβλήτων βασιλέων τοῖς ἀξίοις βραβεύονται, δηλονότι παρεστώσης ἀπάσης 35 τῆς τάξεως τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κουβουκλείου καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν βραβείων προκειτος μένων πλησίον τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας. οἱ γὰρ μέλλοντες τυχεῖν τῆς αὐτῶν ἀντιλήψεως ἤδη προευτρεπίζονται ὑπὸ τοῦ τεταγμένου βασιλικῶν πρωτοσπαθαρίου ἔξω τοῦ βήλου ἐστολισμένοι βοαίοις σαγίοις. ἐν δὲ τῆς

704 2 παρεδράμωμεν L 4 στιχηδών L 12 τετημημένφ L 18 μιώσεις L 705 25 καθιστόρισα L B correxi 27, 28 πληνθίδος, -ίδα L 29 κατοκνήσιεν L 30 hic, ut conicio, supplendum (τόμος α΄) 35 παρεστώσις L 706 39 ἐστωλισμένοι L

τούτων είσαγωγή προσυνεισέρχονται τῷ βασιλικῷ ὀστιαρίῳ ὁμότιμοι τῶν μελλόντων τυχείν ἀντιλήψεως ἄνδρες σπαθαροφόροι τρείς, καὶ τὸ σύνηθες σέβας ποιήσαντες αναμένουσι προς το βήλον έστωτες την του είσαγομένου παρουσίαν, καὶ αὖθις τοῦ βήλου πετασθέντος, συνεισέρχεται τῷ βασιλικῷ 5 δστιαρίφ δ τῶν βασιλικῶν πρωτοσπαθάριος εἰσάγων τὸν μέλλοντα τυχεῖν αντιλήψεως, και τούτον προτρεπόμενος τρισί τόποις ποιήσαι την προσκύυησιν, Ίστησιν αὐτὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὸ ἐξ οἰκείων χειρων αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν τὸ βραβεῖον τοῦ ἀξιώματος. καὶ μικρὸν αὐτὸν τὸν τυχόντα διαστήσας δπισθοπόδως δ αὐτὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος περιβάλλει αὐτῶ το τὸ δοθὲν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως βραβείον, καὶ αὖθις αὐτὸν προσωθήσας ἀσπάσασθαι ποιεῖ τοὺς ἱεροὺς πόδας τοῦ βασιλέως· καταχθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πρός τοις κάτω, οι δμότιμοι του άξιώματος άνδρες ώς ισότιμον είσδεξάμενοι φίλον, τὸ σέβας πληρούντες την εὐχαριστείαν διὰ της προσκυνήσεως τῷ βασιλεῖ προσφωνοῦσι, καὶ συν(εξ)έρχεται τούτοις. ἡ δὲ 15 παρεστώσα πάντων των τοῦ κουβουκλείου άξία τὸν βασιλέα άξίως ἐπευφημήσασα, καὶ αὐτὴ συνεξέρχεται τούτοις. εἰσάγονται δὲ πάσαι αἱ τῶν διὰ βραβείων ἀξιωμάτων διαφοραί κατὰ τάξιν και ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἤδη λε- 707 χθήσεσθαι μέλλουτα, καὶ τὰς συνηθείας παρέχειν ὀφείλουτας. καὶ γὰρ αί μεν αὐτῶν διὰ βραβείων παρέχονται, αἱ δὲ διὰ βασιλικοῦ λόγου 20 προσγίνουται, καὶ συνέπουται ταῖς διὰ βραβείων διδομέναις ἀξίαις, καὶ αί μεν αύτων το μόνιμον έχουσιν, αί δε ραδίως πάλιν άφαιρούμεναι εκ προσώπων είς πρόσωπα διαβαίνουσιν.

Είσὶ δὲ πᾶσαι δμοῦ αἱ διὰ βραβείων διδόμεναι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀκτω- Αἱ διὰ βρακαίδεκα, αιτινες άπαξ διδόμεναι οὐδαμῶς ἀναστρέφονται. διαιροῦνται δὲ βείων ἀξίαι 25 αὖται εἰς μέρη δύο, εἰς συγκλητικοὺς καὶ εἰς προελευσιμαίους.

#### Πόσαι διὰ λόγου.

Αἱ δὲ διὰ λόγου προσγινόμεναι ταύταις καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐνδόξως λαμ- αἱ διὰ λόγου βάνουσαί είσι καὶ αὐταὶ πᾶσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ξ', αἴτινες ἀφαιρούμεναι, ώσπερ έφαμεν, εκ προσώπων είς πρόσωπα βασιλικώ λόγω μετέρχονται. 30 διαιρούνται δὲ καὶ αὖται εἰς μέρη έξ, οἶον εἰς στρατηγούς, εἰς δομεστίκους, είς κριτάς, είς σεκρετικούς, είς δημοκράτας, είς ίδια δφφίκια.

# Περί άξιωμάτων βασιλικών είς τούς προβαθμίους.

Των δε κυρίως άξιωμάτων των δια βραβείων παρεχομένων αι κυριοκλησίαι, είς ας και οφείλουσιν δούναι συνηθείας, είσιν αύται.

κεφάλαιον

708

πρώτη μεν των άλλων απάντων ως προβάθμιος την είσαγωγην των α άξιωμάτων λαμβάνουσα ή τοῦ στρατηλάτου ἐπὶ θεμάτων ἀξία, ἤτοι ή ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων ὀνομαζομένη, ης βραβείον, ἐγγεγραμμένος χάρτης, διὰ

τούτοις scripsi: τούτφ L τος 23 αί . . . ιή quasi δκτοκαίδεκα L τ προσυνησέρχονται L 4 συρέντος coni. R 7 ολκίων L titulum in textu exhibet B  $\frac{\partial \kappa \tau \sigma \kappa a (\delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha \ L)}{27 α i \dots i \xi}$  quasi titulum B  $\frac{\partial \kappa \tau \sigma \kappa a (\delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha \ L)}{28 \tau \hat{\omega} \nu}$   $\frac{25 \tau \rho \sigma \hat{\omega} \hat{\omega} \nu (\mu a lov s \ L)}{708 32}$  hic inserit  $\tau \delta \mu \sigma s \alpha'$  B 35 numeros in marg, non exhibet B 36 ἀξία scripsi : ἀξίων L B

#### 134 PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

βασιλικής χειρὸς ἐπιδίδοται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τῷ πρωτοασήκρητις ,, κδ΄, τοῖς πραιποσίτοις ,,  $\lambda \varsigma'$ .

β' δευτέρα δὲ ἡ τῶν σιλεντιαρίων, ἦs βραβεῖον, χρυσᾶ ῥάβδοs, διὰ βασιλικῆs χειρὸs ἐπιδίδοται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τῷ δευτέρῳ,, ζ', τοῖs πραιποσίτοιs,, οβ'.

γ΄ τρίτη ἡ τῶν βεστητόρων ἀξία, ἦs βραβεῖον, τὸ φιβλατώριον, διὰ βασιλικῆs χειρὸs ἐπιδίδοται. δίδει συνήθειαν τοῖs πραιποσίτοιs ,, κδ΄, τῷ δευτέρῳ ,, 5΄.

δ΄ τετάρτη ή των βασιλικών μανδατόρων ἀξία, ης βραβείον, ῥάβδος ἐρυθροδανωμένη, ἐκ χειρὸς βασιλικής ἐπιδίδοται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τῷ 10 πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ των βασιλικών ,, ξ΄, τοῖς πραιποσίτοις ,, ξ΄.

πέμπτη ή τῶν κανδιδάτων ἀξία, ἦs βραβεῖον, μανιάκιον χρυσοῦν τρίκομβον μέχρι τέρνων κεχαλασμένον, διὰ χειρὸs βασιλικῆs ἐπιδίδοται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τῷ παπίᾳ καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ,, β΄, τῷ παπίᾳ τῆs Δάφνηs,, β΄, τοῖs πραιποσίτοιs,, ξ΄.

709 5' ἔκτη ἡ τῶν στρατόρων ἀξία, ἦs βραβεῖου, φραγέλιον χρυσοῦν ἐκ λίθων τιμίων κεκοσμημένου, ἐκ χειρὸς βασιλέως ἐπιδίδοται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τῷ παπία καὶ τῷ δευτέρω,, β΄, τοῖς πραιποσίτοις,, δ΄.

ζ΄ ξβδόμη ή τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξία, ἦs βραβεῖον, χάρτης ἐγγεγραμμένος, διὰ βασιλικῆς χειρὸς ἐπιδίδοται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τῷ πρωτασήκρητις ,, ૬΄, 20 τοῖς πραιποσίτοις ,, ιβ΄, τῷ παπία καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ,, ૬΄.

η΄ ογδόη ή τῶν σπαθαρίων ἀξία, ἦs βραβεῖον, σπάθη χρυσόκανος, ἐκ βασιλικῆs χειρὸs ἐπιδίδοται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τῷ κατεπάνω ,, ξ΄, τῷ δομεστίκῳ τῶν βασιλικῶν δ΄, τοῖs σπαθαρίοις ,, ιβ΄, τῷ παπίᾳ καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ,, β΄.

θ' ἐννάτη ἡ τῶν σπαθαροκανδιδάτων ἀξία, ἡς βραβεῖον, μανιάκιον χρυ- 25 σοῦν κεχαλασμένον κεκοσμημένον ἐκ περιλεύκιος, ἐκ βασιλικῆς χειρὸς ἐπιδί- δοται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τῷ παπία καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ,, δ΄, τῷ τῆς καταστά- σεως,, ιβ΄, τῷ δομεστίκῳ τῶν βασιλικῶν ,, γ΄, τοῖς σπαθαροκανδιδάτοις ,, ιβ΄.

ι' δεκάτη ή τῶν δισυπάτων ἀξία, ἦs βραβεῖον, χάρτης ἐγγεγραμμένος, ἐκ βασιλικῆς χειρὸς ἐπιδίδοται. δίδει συνήθειαν τοῖς πραιποσίτοις,, ιβ΄, 30 τῷ πρωτοασήκρητις,, ς΄, τῷ παπία καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ,, ς΄.

ια΄ ενδεκάτη ή τῶν πρωτοσπαθαρίων ἀξία, ἦs βραβεῖον, κλοιὸς χρυσοῦς περὶ τὸν αἰχένα ἐκ λίθων τιμίων κεκοσμημένος, διὰ χειρὸς βασιλέως ἐπισυγκλείεται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τοῖς πρωτοσπαθαρίοις εὐνούχοις κδ΄, τοῖς πρωτοσπαθαρίοις βαρβάτοις,, κδ΄, τῷ κατεπάνω,, ιη΄, τῷ δομεστίκῳ τῶν 35

710 βασιλικών ,, τ', τῷ παπίᾳ καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ,, τ'. εἰ δὲ εἰς τὸν χρυσοτρίκλινον παραδοθῆ, τῷ παπίᾳ δίδωσι ,, κδ'. ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι καί, δήμαρχος εἰ τιμηθῆ εξ αὐτών τις, δίδει τοῖς πραιποσίτοις ,, οβ'. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ τῆς καταστάσεως τοῖς αὐτοῖς πραιποσίτοις ,, οβ'.

ιβ΄ δωδεκάτη ή τῶν περιβλέπτων πατρικίων ἀξία, ἦs βραβεῖον, πλάκες 40

3 σελεντιαρίων L et sic ubique 7 δίδι L 709 23 κατεδομεστίκφ L: corr. R 25 χρυσοῦ L 30 δίδι L 32 κλυδε L, οι suprascr. man. rec. 710 37 τιμιθῆ L 38 δίδι L 40 πλάκαιε L

έλεφάντιναι κεκοσμημέναι σύν κωδικέλλοις έγγεγραμμένοις είς τύπον τοῦ νόμου, έκ βασιλικής χειρός επιδίδονται. παρέχει δε τοις κοιτωνίταις, εί ἄρα καὶ μηνυθη, λίτρας β'. είς δὲ τὸ ἀποκόμβιον τοῖς πραιποσίτοις σὺν τοῦ κουβουκλείου καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς χρυσοῦ λίτρας η'. ταῦτα δὲ ὀφφικιάλιος 5 καὶ στρατηγὸς δίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ ἄπρατος δίδει λίτρας ζ΄, καὶ τῷ τῆς καταστάσεως ἄνευ τοῦ ὀψικίου,, ιβ΄, τὸ ὀψίκιου,, π΄, τῷ δευτέρω ὑπὲρ τῶν πλακών ,, κδ', καὶ εἰς τὰ ταβλία τοῦ χλανιδίου ,, κδ', τῷ κανικλείω ὑπὲρ τοῦ κωδικέλλου,, ις, είς την άγιαν Σοφίαν,, λς.

τρισκαιδεκάτη ή των ανθυπάτων αξία, ής βραβείου, κωδίκελλοι άλουρ- ιγ 10 γοειδείς γεγραμμένοι, εκ βασιλικής χειρός επιδίδουται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τὸν τοῦ κανικλείου ,, η', καὶ τῷ δευτέρω ,, δ', καὶ τοῖς πραιποσίτοις ,, κδ'.

τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη ή των ενδοξοτάτων μαγίστρων άξία, ής βραβείου, ιδ χιτών λευκός ών χρυσούφαντος, καὶ έπωμὶς χρυσόταβλος, καὶ ζώνη δερματίνη κόκκινος έκ λίθων τιμίων κεκοσμημένη, ήτις λέγεται βαλτίδιν, έπὶ 15 τοῦ κουσιστορίου ἐκ βασιλικῆς χειρὸς ἐπιδίδοται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τῷ 711 της καταστάσεως τὸ καμίσιν αὐτοῦ, τοῖς δὲ πραιποσίτοις καὶ μαγίστροις συνεστιάται παρέχων αὐτοῖς καὶ δόματα ἱματίων. συνήθειαν δὲ τοῖς πραιποσίτοις καὶ μαγίστροις καὶ λοιποῖς τὴν τοῦ πατρικίου διπλὴν συνήθειαν παρέχει.

πευτεκαιδεκάτη ή της ζωστης πατρικίας άξία, ης βραβείου, πλάκες ιε έλεφάντιναι δμοίως τοῖς πατρικίοις, ἐκ χειρὸς βασιλέως ἐπιδίδοται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τοις βασιλικοίς κληρικοίς,, κδ', τῷ δευτέρω,, κδ', τοὺς κοιτωνίτας λίτρας γ', τὸ κουβούκλειον σὺν τοῖς πραιποσίτοις μόνοις χρυσοῦ λίτρας γ' καὶ τὸ στιχάριν αὐτης τῷ πραιποσίτφ. τῷ της τραπέζης της αὐγούστης 25 μετά την πρωτοβεστιαρίαν και την πριμικήρισσαν και τας κοιτωνιτίσσας καὶ κουβουκλαρέας λίτρας β'.

έξκαιδεκάτη ή του κουροπαλάτου άξία, ής βραβείου, χιτών κόκκινος ις χρυσοποίκιλος καὶ χλαμὺς καὶ ζώνη, ἐκ χειρὸς βασιλέως ἐπὶ ναοῦ Κυρίου λαμπρώς ἐπιδίδοται. δίδωσι συνήθειαν την τοῦ μαγίστρου διπλήν, τώ 30 δευτέρω λίτραν α΄, παρέχων πασιν αντιλήψεις και αναβιβασμούς.

έπτακαιδεκάτη ή του νωβελησίμου άξία, ής βραβείου, χιτών έξ ζ άλουργίδος χρυσόθετος καὶ χλαμὺς καὶ ζώνη, ἐκ χειρὸς βασιλέως ἐπὶ ναοῦ Κυρίου λαμπρώς επιδίδοται, δίδωσι συνήθειαν καθώς και δ κωροπαλάτης.

οκτωκαιδεκάτη ή του καίσαρος άξία, παρομοία της βασιλικής δόξης, ής ιη' 712 35 βραβείον, στέφανος χωρίς σταυρικοῦ τύπου, ἐπὶ ναοῦ Κυρίου ἐκ βασιλικῆς χειρός έπὶ κορυφής έπιτίθεται, δίδωσι συνήθειαν, ώς καὶ ὁ νωβελήσιμος.

Ο δε γεγουώς αὐτοκράτωρ βασιλεύς δίδωσιν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ συνήθεια Θεοῦ μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν χρυσοῦ λίτρας ρ΄, καὶ τῆ συγκλήτφ πάση σὺν ἐὐσεβείας.

7 κανικλήω L 13 Emils L 15 χρυσοστορίου L correxit Bieliaev I 117 (cf. Cer. 23215) 711 15 τφ L 16 καμίσιου Β 17 δώματα L 20 πλάκαις έλεφάντινε L 21 ἐπιδίδωται L δίδοσι L 24 στιχάριον Β 25 κοιτωνιτήσας L 29 δίδοσι L 712 37 adnotationem marginalem quasi titulum in textu exhibet B

τῷ τοῦ κουβουκλείου καὶ λοιποῖς χρυσοῦ λίτρας ρ΄, καὶ χιλιάδας διαφόρους μιλιαρησίων ξκάστῳ τάγματι καὶ ὀφφικίων τῷ συστάσει. τοῖς δὲ πραιποσίτοις ἐν ἐξαιρέτῳ ὀφφίκια δίδωσιν καὶ ἀντιλήψεις ἀξιωμάτων εἰς ἰδίους καὶ ἀνθρώπους αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀναβιβασμοὺς αὐτῶν τῶν πραιποσίτων, καθὼς ἃν αἰτήσονται, λαμβάνουσιν.

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ό μικρός.

ό δέ γε δεύτερος βασιλεύς δίδωσι τὸ ημισυ τούτων.

έκ δὲ τῶν προλεχθέντων ἀξιωμάτων αἱ μὲν πέντε ἀξίαι τῆ συγκλήτφ ἀρμόζονται, οἶον ἡ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, ἡ τῶν σιλεντιαρίων, ἡ τῶν βεστητόρων, ἡ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ δισυπάτων. αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ πᾶσαι ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς κατατάττονται κώδιξιν.

## (Dignitates per edictum lx.)

αί δὲ διὰ λόγου βασιλικοῦ τοῖς ἀξίοις προσγινόμεναι δόξαι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀφορισθεῖσαί εἰσι καὶ αὐταὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ξ΄, αἴτινες, ὡς ἔφαμεν, λόγω βασιλέως προσγινόμεναι, πάλιν ῥαδίως ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ ἐκ προσώπων εἰς πρόσωπα μεθίστανται.

713 [a'] καὶ πρώτη μὲν καὶ μεγίστη ἡ τοῦ βασιλεοπάτορος παρὰ Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου ἡμῶν βασιλέως ἐκφωνηθεῖσα ἀξία·

β΄ ή τοῦ ραίκτωρος άξία.

γ΄ ή τοῦ συγκέλλου.

δ΄ ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν 'Ανατολικῶν ἀξία·

ε' ή τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν.

ς' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν 'Αρμενιάκων.

ζ' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Θρακησίων.

η' ή τοῦ κόμητος τοῦ 'Οψικίου·

θ' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Βουκελλαρίων•

ι' ή τοῦ στροτηγοῦ Καππαδοκίας•

ια' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ·

ιβ' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Κολωνίας·

ιγ΄ ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Παφλαγωνίας•

ιδ΄ ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Θράκης.

ιε΄ ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Μακεδονίας•

ις' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Χαλδίας·

ιζ΄ ή τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν ἐξσκουβίτων ἀξία·

ιη΄ ή τοῦ ἐπάρχου πόλεως ἀξία·

ιθ' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Πελοπουνήσου.

κ΄ ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Νικοπόλεως

κα' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν.

κβ' ἡ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἑλλάδος.

κγ΄ ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Σικελίας.

κδ' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Στρυμόνος.

2 έκάστο L 3 έξερέτω L 6 notas marginales, quae desunt in B, ex codice addidi 713 35 Πελοπονήσου L

κε' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Κεφαληνίας.

κς ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης.

κζ' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ Δυρραχίου.

κη' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Σάμου.

5 κθ' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ Αἰγέου πελάγους·

λ' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Δαλματίας.

λα' ή τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Χερσώνος.

λβ' ή τοῦ σακελλαρίου.

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λγ' ή τοῦ λογοθέτου τοῦ γενικοῦ.

λδ' ή τοῦ κυαίστωρος ἀξία·

λε' ή τοῦ λογοθέτου τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ.

λ5 ή τοῦ δρουγγαρίου τῆς βίγλας.

λζ΄ ή τοῦ λογοθέτου τοῦ δρόμου ἀξία·

λη' ή τοῦ δρουγγαρίου τῶν πλοΐμων.

λθ' ή τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου τῶν βασιλικῶν.

μ' ή τοῦ λογοθέτου τῶν ἀγελῶν.

μα΄ ή τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν ἱκανάτων.

μβ' ή τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν νουμέρων

μγ΄ ή τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν ὀπτημάτων

μδ' ή τοῦ κόμητος τῶν τειχέων

με' ή τοῦ χαρτουλαρίου τοῦ σακελλίου.

μς' ή τοῦ χαρτουλαρίου τοῦ βεστιαρίου.

μζ΄ ή τοῦ χαρτουλαρίου τοῦ κανικλείου.

μη' ή τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος.

25 μθ' ή τοῦ πρωτοασήκρητις ἀξία·

ν' ή τοῦ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν θεμάτων•

να΄ ή τοῦ κόμητος τοῦ στάβλου•

νβ' ή τοῦ είδικοῦ·

νγ΄ ή τοῦ μεγάλου κουράτωρος.

30 νδ' ἡ τοῦ κουράτωρος τῶν Μαγγάνων•

νε' ή των δεήσεων

νς ή τοῦ δρφανοτρόφου.

νζ' ή τοῦ δημάρχου Βενέτων.

νή ή τοῦ δημάρχου Πρασίνων·

νθ' ή τοῦ τῆς καταστάσεως.

ξ' ή τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν βασιλικῶν.

καὶ αὖται τὰ νῦν τιμηθεῖσαι ἀξίαι ἐπὶ Λέοντος δεσπότου.

# (Classes vii dignitatum supradictarum.)

διαιροῦνται οὖν αὖται πᾶσαι εἰς μέρη ἐπτά, οἶον εἰς στρατηγούς, εἰς 40 δομεστίκους, εἰς κριτάς, εἰς σεκρετικούς, εἰς δημοκράτας, εἰς στρατάρχας καὶ εἰς εἰδικὰς μόνας ἀξίας.

5 Alyalov B

714

(Ι. στρατηγοί 26)

δσαι ἐν ταῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν κατατάττονται τάξεις εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν κς΄ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν ἀριθμὸν κς΄ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν ἀριθμὸν ὁ κόμης τοῦ ὑΟψικίου ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Βουκελλαρίων ὁ στρατηγὸς Καππαδοκίας ὁ στρατηγὸς Χαρσιανοῦ ὁ στρατηγὸς Κολωνείας ὁ στρατηγὸς Παφλαγωνίας ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θράκης 5 ὁ στρατηγὸς Μακεδονίας ὁ στρατηγὸς Χαλδίας αὖται οὖν αὶ στρατηγίαι τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς θέμασιν ⟨συν⟩αριθμοῦνται αἱ δὲ τῆς δύσεώς εἰσιν αὖται ὁ στρατηγὸς Πελοποννήσου ὁ στρατηγὸς Νικοπόλεως ὁ στρατηγὸς Κιβνοραμωτῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἡ στρατηγὸς Σικελλίας ὁ

715 τοις 'Ανατολικοις θέμασιν (συν)αριθμούνται. αι δε της δύσεως είσιν αιται· δ στρατηγός Πελοποννήσου· δ στρατηγός Νικοπόλεως· δ στρατηγός Κιβυρραιωτών· δ στρατηγός 'Ελλάδος· δ στρατηγός Σικελλίας· δ στρατηγός Στρυμόνος· δ στρατηγός Κεφαληνίας· δ στρατηγός Θεσσαλονί- 10 κης· δ στρατηγός τοῦ Δυρραχίου· δ στρατηγός της Σάμου· δ στρατηγός τοῦ Αλγέου πελάγους· δ στρατηγός Δαλματίας· δ στρατηγός Χερσωνος καὶ οι εκ προσώπου είσι των θεμάτων.

(ΙΙ. δομέστικοι 7) αί δὲ εἰς δομεστίκους ταττόμεναί εἰσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ζ΄, οἶον ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν, ὁ δομέστικος τῶν ἐξσκουβίτων, ὁ δρουγγάριος τοῦ 15 ἀριθμοῦ, ὁ δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων, ὁ δομέστικος τῶν νουμέρων, ὁ δομέστικος τῶν ὀπτημάτων, ὁ δομέστικος τῶν τειχέων, οἱ καὶ ὀφφικιάλιοι λέγονται.

(ΙΙΙ. κριταί 3)

οί δὲ εἰς κριτὰς λογιζόμενοί εἰσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν γ', οἶον ὁ ἔπαρχος πόλεως, ὁ κυέστωρ, ὁ τοῦ δεήσεως.

(IV. σεκρετικοί 11) αί δὲ εἰς σέκρετα καθεζόμεναί εἰσι καὶ αὖται τὸν ἀριθμὸν ια΄, οἶον ὁ σακελλάριος, ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ, ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου, ὁ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ σακελλίου, ὁ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ βεστιαρίου, ὁ πρωτοασήκρητις, ὁ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ, ὁ μέγας κουράτωρ, ὁ τῶν μαγγάνων, ὁ ὀρφανοτρόφος.

(V. δημοκράται 2) αί δὲ εἰς δημοκράτας εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν δύο, οἶον ὁ δήμαρχος Βενέτων καὶ ὁ δήμαρχος Πρασίνων.

(VI. στρατάρχαι 5) αί δὲ εἰς στρατάρχας εἰσὶ καὶ αὖται τὸν ἀριθμὸν ε΄, οἶον ὁ ἑταιρειάρχης, ὁ δρουγγάριος τοῦ πλοίμου, ὁ λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγελῶν, ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος τῶν βασιλικῶν, ὁ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου.

(VII. είδικαὶ ἀξίαι 7) 716

καὶ αἱ δὲ εἰς εἰδικὰς μόνας ἀξίας εἰσὶ καὶ αὖται τὸν ἀριθμὸν ζ΄, οἶον 716 ὁ βασιλεοπάτωρ, ὁ ραίκτωρ, ὁ σύγκελλος, ὁ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ κανικλείου, ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ, ὁ τῆς καταστάσεως, ὁ δομέστικος τῶν βασιλικῶν.

#### (Officia.)

Αἱ δὲ ὑποτεταγμέναι ἐκάστη τούτων ἀρχῆ αἰ καὶ συνεπόμεναι αὐταῖς εἰσιν ἐξ ὀνόματος αδται.

35

Υποπέπτωκεν δὲ εκάστη τούτων ἀξιωμάτων ἀρχῆ εἴδη ἀξιωμάτων διάφορα κατὰ ἀναλογίαν καὶ τάξιν καὶ τῆς εκάστου προελεύσεως, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ

714 7 (συν)αριθμοῦνται scripsi : ἀριθμοῦνται L 715 8 πελοπονήσου L 12 Alγαίου B 13 οἱ scripsi (sed fort, del, εἰσὶ) : οἱ L θεμάτων scripsi : σχολῶν L 17 ὀπτημάτων L 31 τῶν ἀριθμῶν L 716 36 αἵτα L

δφφίκια δυομάζονται. διαιρούνται δε καί αύτα είς μέρη τρία· είς ταγματικούς, είς θεματικούς καὶ είς συγκλητικούς. τῷ γὰρ στρατηγῷ τῶν ᾿Ανατολικῶν ὑποπίπτουσιν κατὰ βαθμὸν εἴδη 1. Strategi Orientalium άξιωμάτων ια, οΐον officium. 7 κόμητες δμοίως. 1 τουρμάρχαι, 8 κένταρχος των σπαθαρίων, 2 μεριάρχης, 9 κόμης της έταιρείας, 3 κόμης της κόρτης, 4 χαρτουλάριος τοῦ θέματος, 10 πρωτοκαγκελλάριος, 5 δομέστικος τοῦ θέματος, 11 πρωτομανδάτωρ. 6 δρουγγάριοι των βάνδων, 10 τῷ δὲ δομεστίκω τῶν σχολῶν ὑποπίπτουσιν κατὰ βαθμὸν εἴδη ἀξιω- 2. Domestici scholarum. μάτων ί, οξον 1 βαθμοῦ πρώτου, τοποτηρητής, 6 προτίκτορες, 2 (β') δύο κόμητες των σχολών, 7 εὐτυχοφόροι, 3 γ΄ χαρτουλάριος, 8 σκηπτροφόροι, 15 4 δ' δομέστικοι. 9 αξιωματικοί, 10 μανδάτορες. 5 προέξημος, τῶ δὲ στρατηγῶ τῶν ᾿Αρμενιακῶν ὑποπίπτουσι καὶ αὐτῶ εἴδη ἀξιωμάτων 717 3-13, 16-28. κατὰ βαθμόν, ὅσα καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν ᾿Ανατολικῶν, καὶ καθεξῆς ταῖς Strategorum 20 λοιπαίς στρατηγίαις, thematum πλην έν τοις πλοίμοις· προστίθεται γὰρ αὐτοις κεντάρχοι και πρωτο- reliquorum terrestrium κάραβοι. et maritiτῷ δὲ δομεστίκφ τῶν ἐξσκουβίτων ὑποτέτακται εἴδη ἀξιωμάτων θ', οἶον morum. 14. Domestici 6 σκευοφόροι. 1 τοποτηρητής, Excubi-2 χαρτουλάριος, σιγνοφόροι, torum. 25 3 σκρίβονες. 8 σινάτορες, καὶ 4 πρωτομανδάτωρ, 9 μανδάτορες. 5 δρακονάριοι. 15. Praefecti τῷ δὲ ὑπάρχω τῆς πόλεως ὑποτέτακται είδη ἀξιωμάτων ιδ΄, οίον urbis.

8 έξαρχοι, 1 σύμπονος,

30 2 λογοθέτης τοῦ πραιτωρίου, 9 γειτονιάρχαι, 3 κριταί των δεγεώνων, 10 νομικοί, 4 ἐπισκεπτήται, 11 βουλωταί, 5 πρωτοκαγκελλάριοι, 12 προστάται, 6 κεντυρίων, 13 καγκελλάριοι, 35 7 ἐπόπται. 14 ὁ παραθαλασσίτης.

τῷ δὲ σακελλαρίω ὑποτέτακται τὰ ὀφφίκια πάντα διὰ τὸ ἐν ἐκάστω 29. Sacelσεκρέτφ την επισκοπην των εκείσε πραττομένων δια της καταγραφης του larii. ολκείου νοταρίου ποιείσθαι.

5 τρουμάρχαι L 6 μεριάρχης scripsi: ἡμεριάρχαι L: μεριάρχαι Β 10 δρουγγάριοι scripsi: -os LB 14 β' scripsi : δύο L 717 24 τοποτηρητής scripsi : -ταί L 25 χαρτουλάριος scripsi: -ιοι L 27 πρωτομανδάτωρ scripsi: -opes L 39 oiklou L

00 7			M0 0 6		
30. Logothe- tae genici.	τῷ δὲ λογοθέτη τοῦ γενικοῦ ὑποτέτο ιβ', οἶον	иктаі	είδη άξιωμάτων κατὰ β	Βαθμὸν	
	1 χαρτουλάριοι μεγάλοι τοῦ σεκρέ-	7	ό της κουρατωρίας,		
	au o v,	_	ό κόμης της λαμίας,		
	2 χαρτουλάριοι των άρκλων,		διοικηταί,	5	
	3 επόπται των θεμάτων,		κομεντιανός,		
	4 κόμητες ύδάτων,		πρωτοκαγκελλάριος,		
	5 δ οἰκιστικός,		καγκελλάριοι.		
	6 κουμερκιάριοι,		,		
31. Quae- τῷ δὲ κυέστωρι ὑποτέτακται εἴδη ἀξιωμάτων ἕξ, οἶον					
storis.	1 ἀντιγραφεῖς,	4	λιβελίσιος,		
110	2 σκρίβας,		πρωτοκαγκελλάριος,		
	3 σκέπτωρ,		καγκελλάριοι.		
32. Logothe-	τῷ δὲ λογοθέτη τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ ὑ			', olov	
tae	1 χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ σεκραίτου,		οπτίονες,		
Stratiotici.			πρωτοκαγκελλάριος,	15	
	3 χαρτουλάριοι των ταγμάτων,		μανδάτορες.		
	4 λεγατάριοι,	·	mavour opes.		
33. Drungarii					
arithmi.	1 τοποτηρητής,	6	βανδοφόροι,	20	
	2 χαρτουλάριος,		λαβουρίσιοι,		
	3 ἀκόλουθος,		σημειοφόροι,		
	4 κόμητες,		δουκινιάτορες,	14.6	
	5 κένταρχοι,		μανδάτορες.		
34.Drungarii	τῷ δὲ δρουγγαρίφ τῶν πλοίμων ὑπο	τέτακ	αται είδη άξιωμάτων ζ΄, ο	อโอบ 25	
classium.	1 τοποτηρητής,	5	κένταρχοι,		
	2 χαρτουλάριος,	6	κόμης της έταιρείας,		
	3 πρωτομανδάτωρ,	7	μανδάτορες.		
	4 κόμητες,				
35. Logothe-	τῷ δὲ λογοθέτη τοῦ δρόμου ὑποτέται	ктаі (	εἴδη ἀξιωμάτων ζ΄, οἶον	30	
tae cursus.			ό κουράτωρ τοῦ ἀποκρισια	ριείου,	
	2 χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ δρόμου,	6	διατρέχοντες,		
	3 ἐπισκεπτῆται,	7	μανδάτορες.		
	4 έρμηνευταί,				
36. Protospa- tharii	τῷ δὲ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ τῶν βασιλικ οἶον	ω̂ν ဎ်∙	ποτέτακται εἴδη ἀξιωμάτ	ων δ', 35	
basilicorum.		2			
	1 δομέστικος τῶν βασιλικῶν,		κανδιδάτοι δμοίως,		
	2 σπαθάριοι τοῦ σπαθαρικίου, ήτοι τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου,	4	καὶ βασιλικοὶ μανδάτορε	\$.	
		i P w	ecte : κιστικός LB 718 20	06.70	
	ποτηρητής scripsi: -ηταί L 27 κόμητες			, 26 το-	

	τῷ δὲ λογοθέτη τῶν ἀγελῶν ὑποτέτ			37. Logothe- tae gregum.
	1 δ πρωτονοτάριος 'Ασίας,		κόμητες,	66
	2 δ πρωτονοτάριος Φρυγίας,	. 9	<i>ἐπισκεπτήται</i> .	
	3 διοικηταὶ τῶν μητάτων,			
5	τῷ δὲ δομεστίκω τῶν ἱκανάτων ὑπο	_		-38. Domestici hicanatorum.
	1 τοποτηρητής,		βανδοφόροι,	-
	2 χαρτουλάριος,		δουκινιάτορες,	
	3 κόμητες,		σημειοφόροι,	W4.0
	4 πρωτομανδάτωρ,	9	μανδάτορες.	719
•	5 κένταρχοι,			
	τῷ δὲ δομεστίκῳ τῶν νουμέρων ὑπο	39. Domestici		
	1 τοποτηρητής,	4	βικάριοι,	numerorum.
	2 χαρτουλάριος 2α τριβοῦνοι,		μανδάτορες,	
	3 πρωτομανδάτωρ,		πορτάριοι.	
	τῶ δὲ δομεστίκῳ τῶν ὀπτιμάτων ὑπ			40. Domestici optima-
	1 τοποτηρητής,		κένταρχοι,	torum.
	2 χαρτουλάριος,	5	πρωτοκαγκελλάριος.	
	3 κόμητες,			
	τῷ δὲ δομεστίκῳ τῶν τειχέων ὑποτέ	τακτο	ιι είδη ἀξιωμάτων 5', οἶον	41. Domestici
	1 τοποτηρητής,		βικάριοι,	moenium.
	2 χαρτουλάριος 2 <sup>a</sup> τριβοῦνοι,		μανδάτορες,	
	3 πρωτομανδάτωρ,		πορτάριοι.	
	τῷ δὲ χαρτουλαρίῳ τοῦ σακελλίου ὑ			42. Chartu-
	1 νοτάριοι βασιλικοί τοῦ σεκρέτου,		γηροκόμοι,	sacellii.
	2 πρωτονοτάριοι τῶν θεμάτων,		χαρτουλάριοι των οἴκων,	
	3 ξενοδόχοι,		πρωτοκαγκελλάριος,	
	4 δ ζυγοστάτης,		καγκελλάριοι, καὶ	
	5 μετρηταί,	10	δ δομέστικος της θυμέλης.	
	τῷ δὲ χαρτουλαρίω τοῦ βεστιαρίου	ύποτέ	τακται είδη άξιωμάτων ι', οΐον	43. Chartu-
	1 βασιλικοὶ νοτάριοι τοῦ σεκρέτου,			larii
	2 κένταρχος,		κουράτορες,	vestiarii.
	3 λεγατάριος,		χοσβαῆται,	
	4 ἄρχων της χαραγης,		πρωτομανδάτ(ωρ),	
	5 εξαρτιστής,		πρωτομανοατζωρ/, ζμανδάτ}ορες.	
	τῷ δὲ χαρτουλαρίφ τοῦ κανικλείου οι	υδέν ι	ύποπέπτωκε διά τὸ καθ΄ ξαυτὸν	44. Chartu- larii
μο	νον ὑπηρετείν.			caniclei.
	· (A sumpleri 6	oi	I G ProSection I	

1 (ε΄) supplevi 6 τοποτηρητής scripsi : τοποτηριταί L 6 βαρδοφόροι L 719 9 μανδάτωρες L 12 τοποτηρητής scripsi : -ηταί L 13 et 21 χαρτουλάριοι τριβοῦνοι L B correxi 16 et 20 τοποτηρητής scripsi : τοποτηρL : -ηταί B 28 μετριταί L 33, 34 πρωτομανδάτL L 33, 34 πρωτομανδάτL L 33, 34 πρωτομανδάτL L 34 μετριταί L 35 μετριταί L 36 μετριταί L 37 μετριταί L 38 μετριταί L 39 μετριταί L 31 μετριταί L 31 μετριταί L 32 μετριταί L 33 μετριταί L 34 μετριταί L 35 μετριταί L 36 μετριταί L 36 μετριταί L 37 μετριταί L 38 μετριταί L 39 μετριταί L 39 μετριταί L 39 μετριταί L 30 μετριταί L 30 μετριταί L 30 μετριταί L 39 μετριταί L 30 μετριταί L 40 μετριταί L 30 μετριταί L 40 μετρ

45. Protostra-	τῷ δὲ πρωτοστράτορι ὑποτέτακται εἴ	δη ἀξιωμάτων γ΄, οΐον		
toris.	1 στράτωρες,	3 σταβλοκόμητες.		
	2 ἀρμοφύλακες, καὶ			
46. Protoase-	τῷ δὲ πρωτοασήκρητις ὑποπέπτωκεν	είδη άξιωμάτων γ΄, οΐον		
cretae.	1 ἀσηκρῆται,	3 ὁ δεκανός.	5	
	2 νοτάριοι βασιλικοί,		J	
720	τῷ δὲ κόμητι τοῦ στάβλου ὑποτέτακι	-αι είδη άξιωμάτων ζ οΐον)		
47. Comiti stabuli.	τῷ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ είδικοῦ λόγου ὑποτέται			
48. Idici.	1 βασιλικοί νοταρίοι τοῦ σεκρέτου,			
	2 ἄρχοντες των ἐργοδοσίων,	4 μειζότεροι των εργοδοσίων.	10	
49. Curatoris	τῷ δὲ μεγάλῳ κουράτωρι ὑποτέτακται	. είδη ἀξιωμάτων θ', οίον		
magni.	1 πρωτονοτάριος,	6 ὁ ξενοδόχος Σαγγάρου,		
	2 βασιλικοὶ νοτάριοι,	7 δ ξενοδόχος Πυλών,		
	3 κουράτορες των παλατίων,	8 ὁ ξενοδόχος Νικομηδείας, καὶ		
	4 κουράτορες των κτημάτων,	9 ἐπισκεπτῆται.	15	
	5 μειζότερος τῶν Ἐλευθερίου,			
50. Curatoris Mangano-	τῷ δὲ κουράτορι τῶν μαγγάνων ὑπο		ì	
rum.	τῷ μεγάλφ κουράτορι, πλην τῶν ξενοδό			
51. Orphano-	τῷ δὲ ὀρφανοτρόφω ὑποτέτακται εἴδη			
trophi.	1 χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ οἴκου,		20	
	2 χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ δσίου,			
52, 53. De-	τοῖς δὲ δυσὶ δημάρχοις ὑποτέτακται	είδη ἀξιωμάτων ἀνὰ ζ΄, οἶον		
marchorum duorum.	1 δευτερεύουτες,	6 μελισταί,		
	2 δ χαρτουλάριος, καὶ	7 νοτάριοι τῶν μερῶν,		
	3 δ ποιητής,	8 ἡνίοχοι,	25	
	4 ἄρχοντες,	9 πρωτεία,		
	5 γειτονιάρχαι,	10 δημῶται.		
54. Ceri- moniarii.	τῷ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως ὑποτέται	κται εἴδη ἀξιωμάτων ε΄, οἶον		
11101111111111	1 ὕπατοι,	4 ἀποεπάρχοντες,		
	2 βεστήτορες,	5 συγκλητικοί.	30	
	3 σιλεντιάριοι,			
περὶ τάξεως τῶν εὐνούχων.	Περὶ τῆς τῶν εὐνούχων τάξεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀξ τῶν συνηθειῶι			
721	Αί δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων ἀξίαι καὶ αὖτα	ι μεν διχώς δίδονται, και ναο α		
721 - Αἱ δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων ἀξίαι καὶ αὖται μὲν διχῶς δίδονται. καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔργφ τὰς ἀξίας νομίμως λαμβάνουσιν· αἱ δὲ λόγφ τοῖς ἀξίοις 3!				
προσγίνονται, αι και ραδίως έκ προσώπων εις πρόσωπα λόγφ βασιλέως				
	μετέρχουται.			

3 ἀρμ $\langle \alpha\tau \rangle$ οφύλακες conicio 720 γ spatium duarum linearum in calce paginae vacat  $\delta \pi \delta$  L: corr. R 14, 15 κουράτωρες B, et infra 22 ι'? 24 οί χαρτουλάριοι καὶ οί ποιηταὶ expectes 29 ἀπδ ἐπάρχοντες LB 32 ποσότητος?

(Dignitates eunuchorum per insignia.)

εἰσὶ δὲ δμοῦ πᾶσαι αἱ διὰ βραβείων αὐτοῖς παρεχόμεναι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀκτώ.

καὶ πρώτη μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ τῶν νιψιστιαρίων ἀξία γνωρίζεται, ἣς  $\bar{a}$   $\beta$ ραβεῖον καμήσιον λινοῦν ὑποβλαττόμενον σχήματι φιαλίον, καὶ λόγω βασιλέως προσγινόμενος. δίδωσιν συνήθειαν τοῖς πραιποσίτοις,,  $\iota\beta'$ , τῷ δευτέρω,,  $\gamma'$ , τῷ πριμικηρίω αὐτοῦ,,  $\beta'$ .

δευτέρα δὲ ἡ τοῦ κουβικουλαρίου ἀξία, ἦς βραβεῖον ἡ ἀμφίασις τοῦ β περιβλαττομένου καμισίου καὶ ἡ τοῦ λεγομένου παραγαβδίου στολή, ἡ καὶ το διὰ τῆς τῶν πραιποσίτων παρουσίας γνωρίζεται· δίδωσιν συνήθειαν τοῖς πραιποσίτοις,, ιβ΄, τῷ δευτέρῳ,, δ΄, τῷ πριμικηρίω,, β΄.

τρίτη ἡ τοῦ σπαθαροκου βικουλαρίου ἀξία, ἡs βραβεῖου, σπαθίου ϙ χρυσόκανου, ὁμοίως τοῖς σπαθαρίοις διὰ βασιλικῆς χειρὸς ἐπιδίδοται· δίδωσι συνήθειαν τοῖς πραιποσίτοις ,, ιη΄, τῷ παπία καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ,, β΄, τῷ πριμι-15 κηρίῳ ,, δ΄.

τετάρτη ἡ τῶν ὀστιαρίων ἀξία, ἦs βραβεῖον, χρυσῆ ῥάβδος ἐκ λίθων δ τιμίων περικεφαλαίαν ἔχουσα, διὰ χειρὸς βασιλέως ἐπιδίδοται. δίδει συνήθειαν τῷ παπίᾳ καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ,, 5', τοῖς πραιποσίτοις ,, κδ', τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τοῦ κουβουκλείου ,, δ'·

20 πέμπτη ή τῶν πριμικηρίων ἀξία, ἦs βραβεῖου, χιτὼν λευκὸς σὺν ἐπο- ε μίοις καὶ πώλοις χρυσοϋφάντοις, λαμπρῶς ἀμφιάζεται. δίδει συνήθειαν 722 τοῖς πραιποσίτοις,, λ5', τῷ δευτέρῳ,, ιβ', ἐὰν ἄρα δώσει αὐτὸν βασιλικὸν ἡμάτιν, τῷ πριμικηρίῳ,, 5'.

ξκτη ή των ἐν αὐτοῖς πρωτοσπαθαρίων ἀξία, ής βραβεῖον, χρυσοῦν ξ μανιάκιον ἐκ λίθων τιμίων καὶ μαργαριτων, ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐχένος διὰ χειρὸς βασιλέως ἐπισυγκλείεται. χιτὼν δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς λευκὸς χρυσοκόλλητος διβητισοειδὴς καὶ διπλόης κόκκινος σὺν ταβλίοις χρυσοϋφάντοις. δίδωσι συνήθειαν τοῖς πραιποσίτοις καὶ πατρικίοις εὐνούχοις καὶ πρωτοσπαθαρίοις εὐνούχοις ,, οβ΄, τῷ παπία καὶ τῷ δευτέρω ,, ξ΄.

30 ξβδόμη δὲ πέφυκεν ἡ τῶν λαμπροτάτων πραιποσίτων ἀξία, ἦς ζ βραβεῖον, πλάκες πατρικιότητος, ἄνευ μὲν κωδικέλλων ἐπὶ προελεύσεως χρυσοτρικλίνου χειρὶ βασιλέως ἐπιδίδονται· δίδει συνήθειαν, εἰ ἄρα τιμηθῆ πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐν τῷ ἄμα, λ. α΄, καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλακῶν ,, κδ΄. εἰ δὲ καὶ πατρίκιος ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν ταὐτῷ τιμηθῆ, δίδωσι συνήθειαν ὡς οἱ 35 πατρίκιοι.

όγδόη ή των ἐν αὐτοῖς πατρικίων ἀξία, ἢς βραβεῖον, πλάκες, ὁμοίως ῆ σὺν κωδικέλλοις ὡς πῶσι τοῖς πατρικίοις δίδονται. οὐ διαλλάττουσι δὲ ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν στολαῖς τῆς τῶν πρωτοσπαθαρίων ἀμφιάσεως πλὴν λώροις καὶ μόνον, εἰ ἄρα καὶ ἡ τῶν πρωτοσπαθαρίων αὐτοῖς ἐφέπεται δόξα. οὐδὲ

721 5 ὑποβλαττομένων L λόγος LB: correxi 9 κακαμησίου L ἢ LB: correxi 17 et 722, 21 δίδι L 22 ἐὰρ L 23 ἰμάτιν scripsi: ἡμάτην L: ἰμάτιον Β 26 χειτών L: χρυσοκόλλιτος L 31 πλάκαις L 32 δίδι L 34 τιμιθῆ L 36 πλάκαις L 38 λώρις L

κωλύονται οἱ πραιπόσιτοι ἐν ὀφφικίοις διαπρέπειν, οἶον ἄν ἐστιν ὀφφίκιον, 723 τοῦ εἶναι καὶ πραιπόσιτος καὶ ὀφφικιάλιος. παρέχουσιν δὲ συνήθειαν οἱ πατρίκιοι εὐνοῦχοι καθώς καὶ οἱ βαρβάτοι.

παρὰ δὲ τῶν εἰς ὀφφίκια προβαλλομένων πάντων ἐκκομιζομένου τοῦ πραιποσίτου, ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ βασιλέως, τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῆς προβλή- 5

σεως, λαμβάνειν τον αὐτον πραιπόσιτον καθ' έκαστον οφφικιάλιον συνήθειαν ,, κδ΄. μηδείς τοίνυν παραβαινέτω την τοιαύτην τάξιν τε καὶ στάσιν των εκτιθεμένων άξιωμάτων, ή άλλως πως ταύτας μετερχέσθω, πλην των κληρικών καὶ μόνον. οὖτοι γὰρ λόγω μόνω μετέρχονται τὰς ἀξίας. ἡ δὲ των πρωτοσπαθαρίων άξία διὰ βασιλικής χειρός μετὰ ἐπιριπταρίου βασι- 10 λικού έπισυγκλείεται. ταύτας δε τας συναγομένας συνηθείας των αξιωμάτων παρά τοῦ παπίου καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου μερίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἴσης ἄνευ της συνηθείας του χρυσοτρικλίνου, ὅτι μονομερῶς του παπία ἐστίν. δὲ πλακῶν καὶ τῶν μαγίστρων καὶ τῶν πριμικηρίων καὶ τῶν κουβικουλαρίων μονομερώς λαμβάνει αὐτὰ ὁ δεύτερος, καθώς ἀνωτέρω διαγορεύει. τοῦ δὲ 15 τιμίου σταυροῦ τῷ Αὐγούστω μηνὶ ἐξέρχεται ὁ παπίας, καὶ εἴ τι αν ἐπισυνάξει, έχει αὐτά, καὶ έξ αὐτῶν δίδωσιν καὶ τῷ δευτέρω μέρος τι. εἰ δὲ δι' άδυναμίαν είτε νόσον οὐκ εξέρχεται ὁ παπίας, εξέρχεται ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ εἴ τι αν ἐπισυνάξει, μερίζονται αὐτα ος τε παπίας καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐξ ἴσης. ἐπέχει δὲ ὁ παπίας τὰς εξ εβδομάδας τοὺς διαιταρίους καὶ τὸ ἔλαιου 20 724 των καμαρών του χρυσοτρικλίνου σύν των κανδηλαπτών. τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον τοῦ πολυκανδήλου τοῦ κατὰ τὸ μέσον κρεμμαμένου τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολυκανδήλων καὶ ψιαθίων, ἐπικρατοῦσιν αὐτὰ αὐτοὶ οἱ κανἐπέχει δὲ καὶ τοὺς λούστας καὶ τοὺς καμηνάδας καὶ τοὺς κανδηλάπτας τοῦ λαυσιακοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ τοὺς ὡρολόγους καὶ 25 τους ζαράβας, και όστις έξ αυτών λείψη, έχει έξουσίαν ποιείν αντισηκούντας, καὶ λαμβάνει ρ' συνήθειαν αὐτῶν, εἰς μὲν τοὺς πριμικηρίους ,, ιθ', καὶ εἰς τους διαιταρίους καὶ λοιπους ἀνὰ ,, 5', λαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ πριμικήριοι ,, α', καὶ ὁ λαὸς ,, έ. ἐπέχει δὲ καὶ ὁ δεύτερος τὰ σελλία καὶ τοὺς διαιταρίους καὶ τὸν πριμικήριον αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ στέμματα καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας τῶν βασιλέων 30 καὶ τὰ βῆλα τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλαξίμων καὶ τοὺς βεστήτορας σύν των πριμικηρίων αὐτων καὶ τὰ σκεύη των άξιωμάτων καὶ τους έπι των άξιωμάτων, οι και συνάγουσιν τα άξιώματα παρά των λαμ-Βανόντων τὰς ἀξίας. καὶ ὅστις ἐξ αὐτῶν λείψη, ἵνα παρέχη ὁ μέλλων γίνεσθαι τὰς συνηθείας τῷ δευτέρῳ, καθώς καὶ ὁ παπίας λαμβάνει. εἰς δὲ 35 τὰς προελεύσεις ἵνα συνάγωνται οἱ βεστήτορες καὶ οἱ πριμικήριοι πάντες, καὶ βαστάζουσιν τὰ κορνίκλια σὺν τοῖς στέμμασιν. συνάγεσθαι δὲ τοὺς 725 αμφοτέρων διαιταρίους καὶ βαστάζειν είς τὰς προελεύσεις τὰ ταβλία τὰ βασιλικά μετά των άλλαξίμων, άκολουθείν δε είς τας προελεύσεις τους

<sup>723 12</sup> ἐφίσσης L: ἐπ' ἴσης B: fort. ἐξ ἴσης 13 μονομερὸς L 15 forte ⟨τὰ⟩ ἀνωτέρω 20 ἐδομάδας L 724 26 λίψη L ἀντισικοῦντας L 27 ρ L 33 τὰ ἀξιώματα L per errorem ut videtur. Scribendum τὰς συνηθείας 34, 36 παρέχει . . . συνάγονται LB correxi

ράπτας τους βασιλικούς και τους χρυσοκλαβαρίους και τους χρυσοχούς, βαστάζοντε καὶ αὐτοὶ σπαθία τὰ βασιλικὰ εἰς τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν. καὶ λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου μαϊουμᾶν εἰς τὰ πρόκενσα. λαμβάνειν δὲ καὶ ξύλον τὸν παπίαν τὴν ἐβδομάδα πίσσαν μίαν, καὶ τὸν δεύτερον 5 πίσσαν μίαν. ταθτα δὲ πάντα φυλάττεσθαι, τηρεῖσθαί τε καὶ πράττεσθαι ἀπαρασάλευτα καὶ διαμένειν βέβαια, καθώς ἡ εὐσεβής καὶ ἔνθεος βασιλεία ήμων εξέθετο, ως και εξ αρχαίων των χρόνων παρά των προ ήμων εὐσεβως βασιλευσάντων δικαίως έξετέθη.

## (Dignitates eunuchorum per edictum.)

"Οσαι διὰ βασιλικοῦ λόγου προσγίνονται τούτοις άξίαι.

Αί δὲ λόγφ προσγινόμεναι τούτοις άξίαι είσὶ καὶ αὖται τὸν ἀριθμὸν κυρίως θ'.

1 ὁ παρακοιμώμενος τοῦ δεσπότου, 6 ὁ δεύτερος τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου,

2 ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος τοῦ δεσπότου, 7 ὁ ἐπιγκέρνης τοῦ δεσπότου,

15 3 δ επί της τραπέζης τοῦ δεσπότου, 8 δ πιγκέρνης της αὐγούστης,

4 δ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς αὐγούστης, 9 δ παπίας τῆς μανναύρας,

5 δ παπίας τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου, 10 δ παπίας της Δάφυης.

άλλα μην και αι άλλαι πάσαι, όσαι και τοις βαρβάτοις προσγίνονται, πλην της του ἐπάρχου καὶ κυέστωρος καὶ δομεστίκων ἀξίας.

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## Tomos B'.

726 Sectio II.

Ταύτας οὖν ἀπάσας τὰς ἔργφ καὶ λόγφ διδομένας ἀξίας σαφεῖ καὶ άκριβει λόγω παραστήσαι σπουδάσαντες, οὐ δίκαιον ἐκρίναμεν, ὧ φίλοι, μέχρι τούτων καταπαθσαι τον λόγον, άλλα καί, δ μάλιστα ύμιν ζητητέον, της περί των καθεδρων άκριβείας καθάψασθαι καὶ την υπόθεσιν είς πέρας 25 αγάγαι, καθα εξητήσασθε. και γαρ πάλιν ως επαναλήψει ταις λεχθείσαις άπάσαις χρησάμενοι την έκάστης τάξιν καὶ κλησιν καὶ οἰκείαν καθέδραν σαφέστερου ύμιν κανουήσαι έπήχθημεν. δεί γαρ του καλέουτα άρτικλίνην ταύτας μέν άπάσας άκριβως είδέναι, ως έφαμεν, και την των ίερων βασιλικων κλητωρίων κατάστασιν διττως ποιείσθαι είς κόσμησιν, καὶ τῷ μὲν 30 λόγφ την κλησιν της εκάστου άξίας οικείας εκφέρειν, τη δε δεξιά χειρί διὰ τοῦ σχήματος προσδεικυύειν τὸν ἐκάστη ἀρμόζοντα τόπον, καὶ τὸν μὲν πρωτόκλητου φίλου προς το εδώνυμου προτρέπεσθαι μέρος, όπως ή τής βασιλικής άξίας ἐπίδοσις εὐχερὴς τῷ πρωτοκλήτῳ γένηται φίλῳ, τὸν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δεύτερον ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς προσκαλεῖσθαι, καὶ λέγειν

- δ πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, 35
  - ό καΐσαρ,
  - δ νωβελήσιμος,

725 4 την scripsi : τη L τῆ ἐβδομάδι Β 726 20 Hic incipit fragmentum cod. Η 23 ζητειτέον L 24 περί τῆς τῶν Η 25 εζητήσασθε Η επ' ἀναλήψει Β 30 om. 31 τοῦτο σχήματος Η 33 ἐπίδωσις L

- δ κουροπαλάτης,
- δ βασιλεοπάτωρ,
- ή ζωστή πατρικία.
- 727 είδέναι δὲ δεῖ, ὅτι αἱ εξ αὖται μόναι ἀξίαι ἐν τῷ ἀποκοπτῷ τραπέζῃ συνεστιῶνται τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ πᾶσαι τῆς δευτέρας ὑπάρχουσι 5 τάξεως, οἶον
  - δ μάγιστρος, δ μάγιστρος
  - (εὶ δέ τις τούτων ὀφφίκιον τετίμηται, προκρίνεται τοῦ εταίρου, καν τάχα έσχατος ἢ). εἶτα

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- δ βαίκτωρ,
- δ σύγκελλος 'Ρώμης,
- δ σύγκελλος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως
- (εὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τῆς 'Ανατολῆς πατριαρχῶν τύχοιεν σύγκελλοι, προκρίνονται τούτων κατὰ τὰ ἴδια αὐτῶν πατριαρχία). εἶθ' οὕτως
  - δ άρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας, πατρίκιοι εὐνοῦχοι
  - (ὁ δὲ ὢν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν ὀφφικίω προκρίνεται τοῦ ἐτέρου).
  - δ ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν 'Ανατολικῶν'
  - δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος των σχολων.
  - δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός των 'Αρμενιάκων'
  - δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός τῶν Θρακησίων.
  - δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κόμης τοῦ 'Οψικίου.
  - δ ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Βουκελλαρίων
  - δ ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Καππαδοκίας.
  - δ ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ·
  - δ άνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Κολωνείας.
  - δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Παφλαγωνίας·
  - δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος και στρατηγός της Θράκης.
  - δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Μακεδονίας·
  - δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος και στρατηγός Χαλδίας.
- 728 δ ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος [καὶ στρατηγὸς] καὶ δομέστικος τῶν ἐξσκουβίτων·
  - δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ ἔπαρχος τῆς πόλεως.
  - δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Πελοποννήσου
  - δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος και στρατηγός Νικοπόλεως.
  - δ ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν
  - δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἑλλάδος·
  - ό ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Σικελλίας.
  - 7 δ μάγιστρος semel H, bis L B 727 4 αποκοπή τραπέζης Η 8 δφφικίφ Η: 9 έσχάτως pro έσχατος ή Η δφφίκιον LB έταίρου L : δευτέρου Η 14 τοῦτο Η 18 πατρίκιος om. H et in sequentibus κελos L 13 τοίχυεν L 22 δ ανθύπατος κώμης Η 25 στρατηγός Χαρσιανός Η 31 καὶ στρατηγός L B: om. Η 728 31 έξσκουβιτόρων Β : έκσκουβίτων Η 33 πελοπονίσου L 37 δ ανθύπατος και στρατηγός Λογγιβαρδίας post Σικελίας Η ... Νικοπόλεως om. Η

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ό ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Στρυμώνος.
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ό ανθύπατος πατρίκιος και στρατηγός Κεφαληνίας.

ό ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Θεσσαλονίκης.

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός τοῦ Δυρραχίου.

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος και στρατηγός της Σάμου.

ό ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός τοῦ Αλγέου πελάγους.

ό ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Δαλματίας·

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος και στρατηγός Χερσωνος.

ό ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ σακελλάριος.

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος και γενικός λογοθέτης.

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κυέστωρ.

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δ ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ·

ό ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ δρουγγάριος των πλωίμων.

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου.

ό ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγελῶν.

ό ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων.

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος των νουμέρων

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος των οπτημάτων

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κόμης των τειχέων

ό ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ σακελλίου.

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ βεστιαρίου.

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ κανικλείου.

ό ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ πρωτοστράτωρ.

25 δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ πρωτοασηκρήτης.

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου.

ό ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν θεμάτων

ό ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ είδικοῦ·

ό ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ μέγας κουράτωρ

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος και κουράτωρ των Μαγγάνων

ό ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ δρφανοτρόφος·

δ ανθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ δήμαρχος Βενέτων

ό ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ δήμαρχος Πρασίνων.

35 εὶ δὲ μὴ εἶεν πάντες ἀνθύπατοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς ὀφφικίοις τεταγμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνῃ τῆ τῶν πατρικίων ἀξία τὰ στρατηγάτα ἢ τὰ δομεστικάτα ἢ τὰ ὀφφίκια προσελάβοντο, οἱ μὲν λιτοὶ ἀνθύπατοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀφφικίοις τεταγμένων πατρικίων ἐν ταῖς καθέδραις προκρίνονται, δηλονότι ἔκαστος αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τοῦ κωδικέλλου αὐτοῦ τῷ βαθμῷ προτιμώμενος, πλὴν

729

<sup>6</sup> Αλγαίου B 9 σακελλάρις H 10 γενικοῦ H 13 δ ἀνθύπατος καὶ μέγας έτεριάρχης δ ἀνθύπατος καὶ οἰκονόμος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας post βίγλης H 14 πλοίμων B 17 δ ἀνθύπ.... ἱκανάτων om. H 21 δ ἀνθύπ.... σακελλίου om. H 729 36 στρατηγήτα R B: στρατηγήματα codd. 39 ἐπίδωσιν L

τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν 'Ανατολικῶν καὶ τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν οὖτοι γαρ μόνοι, καὶ μὴ ὅντες ἀνθύπατοι, ἐν τῆ καθέδρα τῶν ἀνθυπάτων ὑπερέχουσιν απαντας. εί δέ τινες έξ αὐτῶν, εἴτε ἐκ τῶν ἀνθυπάτων, εἴτε ἐκ των λιτων πατρικίων, η είς στρατηγάτα ανήχθησαν, είτε έν άλλφ τφ δια 730 λόγου προσγινομένω αξιώματι, έκαστος αὐτων κατά τὴν τοῦ ὀφφικίου 5 οἰκείαν δόξαν καὶ τῆς καθέδρας ἀπολαύει. οὐ μὴν δὲ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ βαθμοῦ τῆς ἐπιδόσεως τοῦ κωδικέλλου καν τάχα τύχη ὁ ἔσχατος τῷ βαθμῷ προκριθήναι του πρώτου έν οἱφδήποτε ὀφφικίφ τῷ διὰ λόγου προσγινομένφ. εί δὲ καὶ παγανοὶ τύχοιεν χωρὶς ὀφφικίων πατρίκιοι, ὑποπίπτουσι τοῖς τὰ δφφίκια έχουσι πατρικίοις. εὶ δέ τις ἐκ τῶν λεχθέντων δφφικίων δια- 10 δεχθή, κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον βαθμὸν τής τάξεως τοῦ κωδικέλλου αὐτοῦ ἀναστραφήσεται έν τῆ κλήσει. κλητωρεύονται δὲ ἄπαντες οὕτως.

#### Sectio III.

19 πατρίκιοι om. Η

28 και στρατηγοί Η

ut videtur evanuit

Ανατολικών Β

έξκουβιτόρων Β: ἐκσκουβίτων Η

#### Tópos y. Της των διαφόρων άξιωμάτων καθολικης καθέδρας.

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'Ο μάγιστρος' δ βαίκτωρ. δ σύγκελλος. δ πατρίκιος και πραιπόσιτος. οί πατρίκιοι οἱ εὐνοῦχοι· οἱ ἀνθύπατοι πατρίκιοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τὰ στρατηγάτα ἢ τὰ ὀφφίκια 20 αὐτῶν. άνθύπατοι πατρίκιοι λιτοί κατά τους κωδικέλλους αὐτῶν. πατρίκιοι στρατηγοί κατά τὰ στρατηγάτα αὐτῶν ἢ τὰ ὀφφίκια αὐτῶν. δ πραιπόσιτος μη ων πατρίκιος. (εί δε καί εν οφφικίω τετίμηται, προκρίνεται τοῦ ετέρου) δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν 'Ανατολικῶν' δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν. οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι στρατηγοί των ανατολικών θεμάτων κατά τάς 731 στρατηγίας αὐτῶν· δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων. δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἔπαρχος τῆς πόλεως. οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ στρατηγοί τῶν θεμάτων τῆς δύσεως κατὰ τὰ στρατηγάτα αὐτῶν· οί μητροπολίται οἱ ἀρχιεπίσκοποι κατὰ τοὺς θρόνους αὐτῶν. δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ σακελλάριος. οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ ἐπεχόμενοι· πριμικήριοι εὐνοῦχοι τοῦ κουβουκλείου. 4 είς στρατηγάτα ἀνήχθησαν L: ἐκ στρατηγάτων ἀνηνέχθησαν Η 18 πατρίκιος καί om. Η δόξαν Η 9 τοιαῦτα Η: τοῖς τὰ LB 17 σύγκελος L

22 ἀνθ. καὶ λιτοὶ Η 23 πατρίκιοι . . . αὐτῶν om. Η

κατά τὰ L 731 30 δ πρωτοσπαθάριος in H

32 τὰς στρατηγίας Η

732

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(εὶ δὲ καὶ πρωτοσπαθάριοί εἰσιν, προκρίνονται τῶν λιτῶν πριμικηρίων·
εἰ δὲ καὶ ὀφφίκια προσελάβοντο, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως προκρίνονται τῶν
λοιπῶν·)
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δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ.

οί δστιάριοι τοῦ κουβουκλείου.

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(εὶ δὲ καὶ ὀφφίκια ἔχοιεν, προκρίνονται τῶν ὁμοτίμων)

δ κυέστωρ καὶ μὴ ὢν πρωτοσπαθάριος-

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ.

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δρουγγάριος της βίγλης.

10 ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, καθὰ τὰ νῦν ἐτιμήθη•

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου.

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δρουγγάριος τῶν πλωίμων.

δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ λογοθέτης των ἀγελων.

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν.

δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων.

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν νουμέρων.

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν ὀπτημάτων.

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κόμης τῶν τειχέων.

δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ σακελλίου.

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ βεστιαρίου·

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ κανικλείου

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ πρωτοστράτωρ•

δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ πρωτοασηκρήτης.

οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν θεμάτων κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἑκάστου 25 θέμα·

δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου.

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ λόγου·

δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ μέγας κουράτωρ.

δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κουράτωρ τῶν Μαγγάνων•

30 ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων.

δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δρφανοτρόφος.

οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ κλεισουράρχαι.

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δήμαρχος Βενέτων·

ό πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δήμαρχος Πρασίνων.

35 δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως.

οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ ἀπὸ στρατηγών τών 'Ανατολικών"

οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ ἀπὸ δομεστίκων τῶν σχολῶν

οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ ἀπὸ στρατηγών των ἀνατολικών θεμάτων·

7 κοιαίστωρ Η 9 δ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ μέγας έτεριάχης Η post βίγλης 10 καθὰ om. Η 12 πλοΐμων Β 20 δ πρωτ. . . . βεστιαρίου om. Η 732 23 καὶ H: om. L 26 οἱ πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ κώμητες τοῦ σταύλου H 27 lδικοῦ H 33 τῶν Bενέτων B E Βαινέτων E 34 τῶν E10 τῶν E20 δ πρωτοσπαθάριος E31 δ πρωτοσπαθάριος E32 E33 δ πρωτοσπαθάριος E34 τῶν E47 E56 E67 E76 E77 E78 E78 E79 E79

- οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ ἀπὸ δομεστίκων τῶν ἐξσκουβίτων
- οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων·
- οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ ἀπὸ στρατηγών της δύσεως.
- οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ ἀπὸ κυεστώρων.
- οὶ πρωτοσπαθάριοι τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου (προεκρίθησαν πάλαι τῶν ἀπὸ 5 στρατηγῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων)•
  - οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ κριταί.
  - οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι τοῦ μαγλαβίου καὶ ἀρτικλίναι.
  - οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ ἄρχοντες τοῦ στάβλου·
  - οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ ἀπὸ ὀφφικίων κατὰ τά ποτε ὀφφίκια αὐτῶν

TO

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- οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ βασιλικοί κατὰ τὰς προβολὰς αὐτῶν·
- 733 οἱ πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ ἀσηκρῆται·
  - οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι οί δια πόλεως.
  - οί πρωτοσπαθάριοι οἱ ἐξωτικοί.

εί δὲ μὴ εἶεν πάντες πρωτοσπαθάριοι, καὶ τὰς διὰ λόγου προσγινομένας 15 ἀξίας κατέχουσιν, οἱ νῦν στρατηγοὶ τῆς τε ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς δύσεως οὐχ ὑποπίπτουσιν τῆς ἤδη λαχούσης αὐτῶν τῶν θεμάτων καθέδρας διὰ τὴν ἐλάττωσιν τοῦ βραβείου αὐτῶν, ὑπάρχοντος ἀξιώματος, ἀλλ' ἐν τῆ τάξει, ἤ ἐτάχθησαν, κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖου θέμα καθέζονται. ὡσαύτως οὖν καὶ ὁ ἔπαρχος πόλεως καὶ ὁ κυαίστωρ. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ὀφφικιάλιοι ἐν τοῖς ὁμοτί- 20 μοις τῶν διὰ βραβείων διδομένων ἀξιωμάτων προτετίμηνται. ἐν δὲ τῆ τάξει τῶν ὀφφικίων ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τὴν οἰκείαν καθέδραν λαμβάνει.

(Spatharo-candidati.)

μετὰ δὲ τῆς τῶν πρωτοσπαθαρίων τιμῆς δευτέρα ἡ τῶν σπαθαροκανδιδάτων εἰσάγεται τάξις, οἷον

σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι καὶ ὀφφικιάλιοι κατὰ τὰ ὀφφίκια αὐτῶν·

οί σπαθαροκουβικουλάριοι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτώνος.

σπαθαροκουβικουλάριοι τοῦ κουβουκλείου.

πρεσβύτεροι οἱ βασιλικοί·

- οί πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἡγούμενοι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
- οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι καὶ ἀπὸ στρατηγών·
- οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου·
- οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι οἱ οἰκειακοὶ καὶ κριταί·
- οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι καὶ μαγλαβίται καὶ ἀρτικλίναι·
- οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι οί ἀπὸ ὀφφικίων·

ἀποδομέστικοι Η: ἀπὸ δομεστίκου L ι δ πρωτοσπαθάριος LB εξσκουβιτόρων Β: έκσκουβίτων Η 2 αποεπάρχοι (sic) Η 3 αποστρατηγοί τῶν τῆς Η στόρων Β 5 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Η ἐπάνω Η: π) L: πάλαι R.Β 6 και ἀπὸ έπάρχων L: παρά Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου Η 7 κρηταί L σταύλου Η: τῶν στάβλων LB II kal om. H 733 12 πρωτοασηκρήται Η 14 οί ante έξωτ. om. H 20 όμοτίμων αὐτῶν διὰ βραβείων διδομένων ἀξίων H 22 καθέδραν H : τάξιν L B 23 τὴν . . . τιμὴν conicio σπαθαρίων κανδηδάτων H 26 σπαθαροκουβικουλάριοι L: σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι καὶ κουβικούλαριοι Η 28 οἱ πρεσβύ-32 οἱ οἰκειακοὶ καὶ κρηταί L: om. οἱ Η 33 σπαθάριοι H et infra τεροι βασ. Η passim άρτοκλίναι Η

οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι οί οἰκειακοὶ τοῦ λαυσιακοῦ. 734 οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι καὶ ἀσηκρῆται. οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι καὶ κλεισουράρχαι. ό σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τουρμάρχης τῶν Φιβεράτων ό σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τουρμάρχης Λυκαονίας καὶ Παμφυλίας· ό σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τοποτηρητής τῶν σχολῶν. οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι καὶ τουρμάρχαι τῶν τῆς ἀνατολῆς θεμάτων κατὰ τὰ θέματα αὐτῶν ό σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τοποτηρητής των εξσκουβίτων οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι και τουρμάρχαι των θεμάτων της δύσεως. ό σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τοποτηρητής τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ· οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι καὶ τουρμάρχαι τῶν πλοίμων. ό σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τοποτηρητής τοῦ πλοίμου. δ σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τοποτηρητής των ίκανάτων. ό σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τοποτηρητής τῶν νουμέρων ό σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τοποτηρητής τῶν ὀπτημάτων ό σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ τοποτηρητής των τειχέων οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι οί διὰ πόλεως καὶ οί των σεκρέτων οί δισύπατοι κατά τὰς τάξεις αὐτῶν. (Disypati.) εί δὲ μὴ είεν οὖτοι σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι, ταις μὲν διὰ βραβείων ἀξίαις ύποπιπτέτωσαν, εν δε τοις του βαθμου αυτών οφφικίοις ακολούθως τιμάσθωσαν. είθ' ούτως των σπαθαρίων είσάγεται τάξις, οίον (Spatharii.) οί κουβικουλάριοι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτώνος οί κουβικουλάριοι τοῦ κουβουκλείου. οί κουβουκλείσιοι τοῦ πατριάρχου. δ ολκονόμος της μεγάλης έκκλησίας. οί διάκονοι οί βασιλικοί. 735 οί διάκουοι της έκκλησίας. οί σπαθάριοι τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ κριταί. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ μαγλαβίται καὶ ἀρτικλίναι. οί σπαθάριοι οἰκειακοί τοῦ λαυσιακοῦ. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ τουρμάρχαι κατὰ τὰ θέματα αὐτῶν οί σπαθάριοι καὶ τοποτηρηταὶ κατὰ τὰ τάγματα αὐτῶν\* I of olkerakol L: om. of H 734 4 οί σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι και τουρμάρχαι λαυσάκου Η τ. φ. B : om. H 5 οἱ σπαθάριοι καὶ τουρμάρχαι Η (ut videtur), ita B (cum σπ . . . άτοι) 6 οί σπαθάριοι και τοποτηρηται Η (ut vid.), Β (cum σπ . . . άτοι) 7 ἀνατολικής Η 9 οί σπαθάριοι και τοποτηρηταί των εκσκουβίτων Η εξσκουβιτόρων Β σπαθάριοι καὶ τοποτηρηταί Η 12 πλοιμάτων Η 13 δ σπαθ. καὶ τοπ. τ. πλοίμου om. Η 18 καλ τῶν σεκρέτων Η 23 οἶον . . . κοιτῶνος om. Η 26 κουβουκλείσιοι Η et forma contracta L: κουβικουλάριοι Β 28 οἱ διάκονοι οἱ . . . ἐκκλησίας om. Η 33 οί σπαθάριοι άρτοκλίναι Η 735 31 κρηταί L 32 kal ante may. om. L οἰκειακοῦ τοῦ λαυσιακοῦ H: om. L

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οί σπαθάριοι καὶ ἀσηκρῆται. (δ σπαθάριος) καὶ πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ δρόμου. οἱ σπαθάριοι τοῦ σπαθαρικίου. δ σπαθάριος καὶ κόμης της κόρτης των 'Ανατολικων' οί σπαθάριοι καὶ κόμητες τῶν σχολῶν. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ κόμητες τῆς κόρτης των ἀνατολικων θεμάτων κατὰ τὰ θέματα αὐτῶν δ σπαθάριος καὶ σύμπονος τοῦ ἐπάρχου· δ σπαθάριος καὶ λογοθέτης τῶν πραιτωρίων. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ κόμητες τῆς κόρτης τῶν θεμάτων τῆς δύσεως κατὰ τὰ 10 θέματα αὐτῶν οί σπαθάριοι καὶ χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ γενικοῦ λογοθέτου. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ ἀντιγραφης τοῦ κυαίστωρος. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ λογοθέτου. δ σπαθάριος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ θέματος τῶν 'Ανατολικῶν' 15 δ σπαθάριος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ τάγματος τῶν σχολῶν. δ σπαθάριος καὶ ἀκτουάριος. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ χαρτουλάριοι τῶν ἀνατολικῶν θεμάτων. δ σπαθάριος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τῶν ἐξσκουβίτων. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ χαρτουλάριοι τῶν δυτικῶν θεμάτων. 20 οί σπαθάριοι καὶ βασιλικοὶ νοτάριοι τῆς σακέλλης. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ βασιλικοὶ νοτάριοι τοῦ βεστιαρίου. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ βασιλικοὶ νοτάριοι τοῦ είδικοῦ. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ νοτάριοι τῶν ἀρκλῶν τοῦ γενικοῦ. ό σπαθάριος καὶ πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ μεγάλου κουρατωρικίου. 25 736 οί σπαθάριοι καὶ δευτερεύοντες τῶν δημάρχων. δ σπαθάριος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κουρατωρίας τῶν βασιλικῶν οἴκων δ σπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας. δ σπαθάριος καὶ ζυγοστάτης. δ σπαθάριος καὶ χρυσοεψητής. 30 δ σπαθάριος καὶ ἄρχων τοῦ ἀρμαμέντου· οί σπαθάριοι καὶ ξενοδόχοι. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ γηροκόμοι. οί σπαθάριοι καὶ πρωτονοτάριοι τῶν θεμάτων κατὰ τὰ θέματα αὐτῶν.

Ι δ σπαθάριος ασηκρήτης Η 2 (δ σπαθάριος) και scripsi: και δ L B σπαθάριοι καὶ κόμητες LHB: correxi 6 οἱ σπ. κώμητες τ. σχ. H : οἱ σπ. καὶ κόμ. ... θέματα αὐτῶν om. Η 9 οἱ σπαθάριοι καὶ λογοθέται πραιτωρίων Η 13-14 οί σπ. κ. άντ. . . . τ. στρ. λογοθέτου om. Η 15 τοῦ om. L B θέματος (non θεμάτων) L ἀνατολικῶν . . . τοῦ τάγματος τῶν om. Η 19 δ σπ.... έξσκουβίτων οπ. Η 21 τῆς σακέλλης L: τοῦ βεστιαρίου H 22 τοῦ βεστιαρίου L: της σακκέλλου Η 24 οί σπ. . . . γενικοῦ om. Η 25 οί σπαθάριοι καὶ πρωτονοτάριοι LHB: correxi κουρατορικίου Β 736 27 ολκημάτων Η 30 δ σπ. καλ χρυσοεψιτής L 31 οἱ σπαθάριοι καὶ ἄρχοντες Η ἀρμέντου Β χρυσ. om. H 33 γηροκώμοι Η

ό σπαθάριος καὶ οἰκιστικός.

οί σπαθάριοι οἱ διὰ πόλεως καὶ οἱ ἐξωτικοί.

εί δὲ μὴ είεν καὶ οὖτοι σπαθάριοι, τὰς μὲν διὰ βραβείων ἀξίας ὑποπιπτέτωσαν, εν δε τοις αὐτων οφφικίοις κατά τάξιν τιμάσθωσαν.

μετὰ τούτους είσαγέσθω τετάρτη τάξις, ή τῶν ὑπάτων, στρατόρων, (Hypati, κανδιδάτων, μανδατόρων, βεστητόρων, απράτων, ταγματικών καὶ candidati, θεματικών ούτως.

ύπατοι βασιλικοί καὶ χαρτουλάριοι καὶ νοτάριοι τῶν λεχθέντων σεκρέτων

κατά τους βαθμούς των ξαυτών δφφικίων. IO

ύπατοι παγανοί της συγκλήτου. κληρικοί τοῦ παλατίου καὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας. στράτωρες, εὶ τύχοιεν, τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου. στράτωρες όμοίως τοῦ μαγλαβίου. στράτωρες οἰκειακοὶ τοῦ λαυσιακοῦ καὶ ἀσηκρῆται.

στράτωρες τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατωρικίου. 15 στράτωρες, σκρίβωνες των έξσκουβίτων καὶ χαρτουλάριοι των θεμάτων δομέστικοι τοῦ τάγματος τῶν σχολῶν.

δομέστικοι τῶν θεμάτων τῆς ἀνατολῆς καὶ δύσεως κατὰ τὰ τάγματα 737 αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀξίας αὐτῶν.

20 ασηκρηται άπρατοι·

> νοτάριοι των άσηκρητειών ἄπρατοι. κανδιδάτοι βασιλικοί τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου.

καὶ μανδάτορες, βεστήτορες, σιλεντιάριοι, δρουγγάριοι τῶν θεμάτων ἄπρατοι κατὰ τὰ θέματα καὶ τοὺς δρόγγους αὐτῶν.

κόμητες των θεμάτων δμοίως. 25 κόμητες των αριθμών απρατοι. δ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δμοίως. κόμητες τοῦ πλοίματος όμοίως. ό χαρτουλάριος τοῦ πλοίμου.

κόμητες των ίκανάτων δμοίως. 30

δ χαρτουλάριος των ίκανάτων δμοίως

δ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ στάβλου δμοίως.

δ ἐπίκτης τοῦ στάβλου ὁμοίως.

(οί) τριβοθνοι τών νουμέρων

δ χαρτουλάριος των νουμέρων.

οί τριβοῦνοι τῶν τειχέων

35

δ χαρτουλάριος των τειχέων

οί δευτερεύοντες των δημάρχων\*

οί κόμητες των οπτημάτων.

2 οί διὰ πόλεως L: om. οί Η οί έξωτικοί L: om. οί Η 3 κατά μέν τὰs H: 737 18 τάγμα L 35 locum ita scripserunt edd., τὰς μέν L 34 oi addidi notis correctionis in codice male intellectis : οἱ κομ. τ. ὀπτημάτων ὁ χ. τ. ὀπτ. ὁ χ. τ. τειχ. οί δευτ. τ. δημ. οί τριβ. τ. τειχ.

τάξις δ' stratores, mandatores, vestitores, silentiarii, ex-praefectis, stratelatae.)

	δ χαρτουλάριος των δπτημάτων·	
	δ προέξημος τῶν σχολῶν•	
	οἱ κένταρχοι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ·	
	οί κένταρχοι τῶν ἱκανάτων•	
	οί προτίκτορες τῶν σχολῶνο	5
•	οί βικάριοι τῶν νουμέρων	
	οί βικάριοι των τειχέων	
	οί δρακονάριοι των έξσκουβίτων	
	οἱ ἀποεπάρχουτες•	
	οί στρατηλάται·	10
	δ ἀκόλουθος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ·	
	δ πρωτομανδάτωρ τοῦ ἐξσκουβίτου.	
	δ πρωτομανδάτωρ των ίκανάτων	
	οἱ πρωτοκάραβοι*	
	οί πρωτουστάριοι των θεμάτων καὶ των ἀγελων οἱ ἄπρατοι*	15
	οί βανδοφόροι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ·	
	οί βανδοφόροι τῶν ἱκανάτων	
	οἱ εὐτυχοφόροι τῶν σχολῶν*	
	οί σκευοφόροι των έξσκουβίτων	
	οί λαβουρήσιοι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ·	20
	οί σκηπτροφόροι τῶν σχολῶν*	
	οί σιγνοφόροι των έξσκουβίτων	
	οί σημειοφόροι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ·	
	οί σημειοφόροι τῶν ἱκανάτων°	
	οι άξιωματικοί τῶν σχολῶν.	25
	οί σινάτωρες των έξσκουβίτων.	
	οι δουκινιάτωρες τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ·	
	οί δουκινιάτωρες των ίκανάτων	
	οί μανδάτωρες τῶν σχολῶν•	
	οἱ πρωτοκαγκελλάριοι τῶν θεμάτων•	30
	οἱ ὀπτίονες τῶν ταγμάτων	
	δ πρωτοκαγκελλάριος τοῦ γενικοῦ λογοθέτου·	
	δ πρωτοκαγκελλάριος τοῦ κυαίστωρος·	
	ό πρωτομανδάτωρ τῶν νουμέρων	
	ό πρωτομανδάτωρ τῶν τειχέων•	35
	δ πρωτοκαγκελλάριος τοῦ σακελλίου·	
	δ κένταρχος τοῦ βεστιαρίου.	
	οί μανδάτορες καὶ λεγατάριοι των έξσκουβίτων	
	οί μανδάτορες και λεγατάριοι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ·	
	οί εξσκουβίτορες.	40
	οί θυρωροί τοῦ παλατίου καὶ τῶν σεκρέτων	

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<sup>16</sup> βαντοφόροι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ L 738 38 μανδάτορες scripsi : πρωτομανδάτορες L B

- οἱ διατρέχοντες τοῦ δρόμου.
- οἱ φακτιονάριοι.
- οί γειτονιάρχαι.
- οί νοτάριοι των μερών.
- 5 οἱ χαρτουλάριοι τῶν μερῶν•
  - οί ποιηταί και μελισταί των δήμων.
  - οί ήνίοχοι των μερών.
  - οί μανδάτορες των νουμέρων.
  - οί μανδάτορες των τειχέων.
- 10 ὁ λεγατάριος τοῦ βεστιαρίου.
  - οί χοσβαίται τοῦ μεγάλου βεστιαρίου.
  - οί κένταρχοι των στρατηγών των θεματικών.
  - οί μικροπανίται.
  - οί παραφύλακες των κάστρων ἄπρατοι.
- 15 κένταρχοι των βάνδων.
  - οί δημώται.
  - οί δρουγγάριοι των πεζων.
  - οί καγκελλάριοι των σεκρέτων
  - οί τοποτηρηταί των χορών.
- 20 οί στρατιώται τών ταγμάτων.
  - οί στρατιώται των θεμάτων.

εὶ δὲ ἐκ πάντων τούτων τῶν λεχθέντων τινὲς ἔχοιεν ἀξίας τὰς διὰ βραβείου διδομένας, ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τῷ ἀξία τοῦ ὁμοτίμου τὸν βαθμὸν προτιμάσθω. εἰ δὲ παγανοὶ πέλοιεν, ἐν μόνοις τοῖς ὀφφικίοις τιμάσθωσαν κατὰ 739 25 τὴν ἤδη ἐκτεθεῖσαν τάξω κλητορευόμενοι.

οί δὲ ἐξ ἐθνῶν εἰσερχόμενοι πρέσβεις καὶ τῆς τιμίας συνεστιάσεως τῶν βασιλέων ἡμῶν ἀξιούμενοι κλητορεύονται καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτως·

### Οἱ ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης ἐπίσκοποι προεκρίθησαν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπισκόπων.

οί μεν ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης ἐρχόμενοι, ἐάν εἰσιν ἐπίσκοποι, προτιμῶνται τῶν 30 ἐπισκόπων τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας εἰ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι εἶεν, ὡσαύτως προκρίνονται. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν ἔκαστον τάγμα τῆς ἱεροσύνης τὴν προτίμησιν ἀναδέχεται κατὰ τὴν καθέδραν τὴν ἀνωτέρως ἡηθεῖσαν. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ κρατείσθω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῆ ἀνατολῆ ὄντων τριῶν πατριαρχῶν. ἐτιμήθησαν δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης ἐλθόντες διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ 35 Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, οἶον ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Νικόλαος καὶ καρδηνάλιος 'Ιωάννης, ἐπάνω πάσης τῆς τάξεως τῶν μαγίστρων.

1 διατρέχοτες L 20 ταγμάτων scripsi : θεμάτων L 739 25 ταξειν L κλητωρ. Β 28 οί... ἐπισκόπων quasi notam marginalem uncis inclus. R B 33 ἐτιμίθησαν L

Kal οί ἀπὸ ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων σύγκελλοι προεκρίθησαν παντός μαγίστρου. ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων σύγκελλοι ἐν τῆ

δευτέρα θέσει της τραπέζης πρώτοι ἐπάνω παντὸς μαγίστρου.

## (Saraceni amici.)

οί δὲ ἐξ ᾿Αγάρων φίλοι τῆ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ στρατηγῶν ὑποπίπτουσι 5 τάξει ἐν ταῖς καθέδραις, οἱ μὲν ἀνατολικοὶ προκρινόμενοι τῶν ἑσπερίων·
740 καθέζονται δὲ ἐν τῆ εὐωνύμω θέσει, ἢ τέταρτοι φίλοι, ἢ πέμπτοι, πρὸς τὸ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ δευτέρω μίνσω τῆς τραπέζης τυγχάνειν.

## (Bulgari amici.)

οί δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Νούνων, ἤτοι Βουλγάρων, εἰσερχόμενοι φίλοι ἐν μὲν τῆ το κλήσει τῶν κοινῶν κλητωρίων τέταρτοι ἢ πέμπτοι ἐν τῆ εὐωνύμω θέσει κληθήσονται, δηλονότι ὑποπίπτοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ βήλω πατρικίων τεταγμένων ἀρχόντων, ἀπολαύοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν δεύτερον μίνσον τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ιθ΄ τῶν ἑορτῶν ἀκουβίτοις κλητωρεύονται ὄγδοοι καὶ ἔννατοι, δη- 15 λονότι ὑποπίπτοντες τῆ τάξει τοῦ προλεχθέντος βήλου.

## (Francorum legati.)

οί δὲ ἐκ Φράγγων πρέσβεις, εἰ μὲν ἔχοιεν χειροτονίας, κατὰ ταύτας κληθήσονται εἰ δὲ παγανοί εἰσιν, τῆ τῶν ὀφφικιαλίων ὑποπίπτουσι τάξει. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν ἐρχόμενοι φίλοι τῆ τῶν σπαθαροκανδιδάτων 20 ὑποπίπτουσι πάντες ἀξία.

Sectio IV.

Τόμος τέταρτος.

'Επειδή τής των ἀρτικλινων ἐπιστήμης ίδικήν τινα πραγματείαν συγγράψασθαι ἐσπουδάσαμεν, καὶ τὰς τοῦ οἰκείου πολιτεύματος ἀξίας ἐκφαντορικως ἐν ταῖς καθέδραις ἀκριβως ἐξεθέμεθα, καὶ τὴν των ἱερων βασιλικων 25 κλητωρίων εὐστάθιαν καὶ κατάστασιν ὑμῖν ὑπεδείξαμεν, φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς 741 ἰδέας των ἐφ' ἐκάστη ἑορτῆ κικλησκομένων ἀξιωμάτων καὶ τὰς τούτων πολυειδεῖς ἀμφιάσεις ὅπως δεῖ συνεισάγειν ἐν τοῖς κλητωρίοις, σαφως ὑμῖν διηγήσομαι. ἄρξομαι δ' ἐντεῦθεν ⟨ὅτε⟩ καὶ ἡ τῆς θείας χάριτος τῷ κόσμω ἐπέφανεν ἀπαρχή, ἢς καὶ οἱ θεοπρόβλητοι καὶ θειότατοι ἡμων βασιλεῖς, 30 τὴν ἐγκόσμιον καὶ ὑπερκόσμιον ταύτην πανηγυρίζοντες χαρμουὴν κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς Χριστοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιδημίας, κοινῆ τὴν πανδεσίαν τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐφαπλώσαντες κοινωνοῦσι τῆς σωματικῆς ἑστιάσεως.

Η γενέθλιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμέρα, ἐν ἡ προτίθονται αι τῶν ιθ' ἀκουβίτων ἐκθέσεις.

Δεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς, ễ φίλοι, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ λαμπρᾳ καὶ περιδόξῳ τῶν Χριστοῦ 35 γενεθλίων ἡμέρᾳ, ἡνίκα αἱ πολυσχεδεῖς καὶ ἐξαίσιοι τῶν ιθ΄ προτίθονται

1 καὶ οἱ . . . προεκ. π. μαγίστρου uncis inclus. R B 1, 2 σύγκελοι L 2 'Αντιοχίας L 740 10 Νούνου, id est Οὔνων quod fortasse legendum est 22 δ' B 741 28 συνησάγειν L 29 ὅτε addidi 30 θειώτατοι L 34 ἐκθέσης L

ακουβίτων εκθέσεις, εν μεν τη βασιλική τραπέζη του κράματος της μεγάλης έκκλησίας καλείν είς συνεστίασιν των φιλοχρίστων ήμων βασιλέων μεγιστάνας έκ της βασιλικής συγκλήτου του αριθμου ιβ', οίου μαγίστρους, πραιποσίτους, ανθυπάτους, πατρικίους, στρατηγούς, οφφικιαλίους, οθς αν 5 δόξη τους αυτοκράτορας λαμβάνεσθαι εΙσάγειν δε αυτούς, άνευ μέντοι των ολκείων χλαμύδων, ημφιεσμένους δε τα καμήσια καλ μόνα. ελ δε τύχοιεν στρατηγοί κεκλημένοι, μετά των οίκείων σκαραμαγγίων είσαγέσθωσαν σύν τῷ δρουγγαρίω τῆς βίγλης. ἐν δὲ τῆ τῶν ιθ' ἀκουβίτων τιμιω- 742 τάτη τραπέζη δεί ύμας καλείν μαγίστρους δύο, ανθυπάτους πατρικίους 10 στρατηγούς έξ, Βουλγάρους φίλους δύο, όφφικιαλίους ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ λογοθέτου τάξεως καὶ κατωτέρω δύο, πρὸς τὸ συνανακληθήναι τῷ βασιλεί είς τύπον της αποστολικής δωδεκάδος, φίλους τον αριθμον ιβ'. προκισεύειν δε αὐτοὺς δεῖ στιχηδὸν κατὰ τάξιν τῆς εκάστου ἀξίας, ενδεδυμένους τὰς οἰκείας αὐτῶν χλαμύδας ἐμπροσθείω τῷ σχήματι, ὑποδεδεμένους 15 δε καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καμπάγια, καὶ εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν τῶν μελλόντων παραστάναι βασιλικών ύπουργών τε καί βουκαλίων, δηλονότι λαβόντος τὸ σχημα τοῦ καστρησίου της βασιλικής τραπέζης παρὰ τοῦ ἄνωθεν παρεστώτος περιφανούς πραιποσίτου, καὶ συνανερχομένου αὐτοῖς μέχρι τοῦ τριβάθμου της βασιλικής εὐωχίας, καὶ ἱστώντος αὐτοὺς κύκλω 20 της τιμίας τραπέζης είς τὸ είδικως προσκαλείσθαι πλησιέστερου φίλους, οθς αν δόξη τῷ βασιλεί. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐκατέρων τῶν μερῶν ἀκουβίτοις δεῖ ύμας καλείν εν ταύτη τη λαμπρά και περιβοήτω ήμέρα την ύπο καμπάγιν σύγκλητον πάσαν, οξον άσηκρήτας, χαρτουλαρίους των μεγάλων σεκρέτων, βασιλικούς νοταρίους των λεχθέντων σεκρέτων, οδον από τε σπαθαροκαν-25 διδάτων καὶ κατωτέρω, ὑπάτων, δισυπάτων, κομήτων τῶν σχολῶν, σιλεντιαρίων, προτικτόρων, εὐτυχοφόρων, σκηπτροφόρων, άξιωματικών τών δια-743 φόρων ταγμάτων του άριθμου ρξη', 'Αγαρηνών του πραιτωρίου κδ', τών Βουλγάρων φίλων ανθρώπους ιβ΄, καὶ πένητας αδελφούς του αριθμου ιβ΄. προκισσεύειν δε αὐτοὺς στιχηδον οὕτως τοὺς μεν συγκλητικοὺς κατά τὰς 30 ολκείας αὐτῶν ἀξίας καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀφφικίων αὐτῶν διαφορὰς διαστελλόμενος ένθεν κάκειθεν τους δε 'Αγαρηνούς κατέναντι της όψεως των βασιλέων έπὶ τῆς ἔκτης καὶ ἐβδόμης τραπέζης τοὺς δὲ Βουλγάρων ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ της ενάτης τραπέζης της αυτης περιόδου τους δε πένητας και αυτους προσκαλείσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς θ΄ τραπέζης τῆς εὐωνύμου θέσεως, ἐν ἢ παράστασις 35 τοῦ δρουγγαρίου τυγχάνει. εἰσάγειν δὲ δεῖ ἄπαντας μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν τῶν πρωτοκλήτων φίλων της βασιλικής τραπέζης ούτως τους μεν άξιωματικούς άπαντας μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξιμάτων, χλαμύδων τε καὶ καμπαγίων, στιχηδον κατά τάξιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ ὀφφικίου τοὺς δὲ Αγαρηνοὺς λευκοφόρους αζώνους ύποδεδεμένους, δηλονότι προπορευομένου αὐτῶν τοῦ

<sup>3</sup> ιδ' L: corr. R 5 αὐτοκράτωρας L 6 καμίσια B et passim 742 13 στιχηδών L 15 ἄφηξιν L 16 fort. παρεστάναι 22 καμπάγιον B et passim 743 34 παράστασης 35 ἄφηξιν L 39 άζόνους L προπορευομένων αὐτῶν L: -ομένου αὐτοῖς B

καλέσαντος άρτικλίνου καὶ συνανερχομένου ἐφ' ἐκατέρου τῶν μερῶν διὰ της όπισθίου θέσεως των αὐτων ἀκουβίτων καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἐμπροσθίου τόπου έξαριθμούντος εφ' εκάστω ακουβίτω δωδεκάδα προσώπων μίαν και μη συγχωροθυτός τινα ανακληθήναι μέχρι της εκφωνήσεως των παρεστώτων βασιλικών βουκαλίων. μετά δὲ τὴν πάντων ἀνάκλησιν δεῖ προσέχειν τὸ 5 744 μουσικου μέλος, καὶ ἡνίκα το ἴδιου ἀπηχήσει φθέγμα, ἐξανίστασθαι ἄπαντας els εὐφημίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ τὰς ξαυτῶν ἀπεκδιδύσκεσθαι χλαμύδας· άλλα μην και δσάκις αν το μουσικον απηχήση, και δσάκις αν θυμελικόν τι προς τέρψιν έκτελεσθή πράγμα, και ήνίκα τι βρώσιμον έκ τής βασιλικής τραπέζης διὰ τοῦ τερπυοῦ καστρησίου πρὸς τοὺς δαιτυμόνας έξαποσταλή- 10 σεται. ἐν δὲ τῆ τούτων ἐξόδω δεῖ προσέχειν τοῖς ρωμαίζουσι βουκαλίοις καὶ σὺν τῆ αὐτῶν ἐκφωνήσει προσέχειν τὸ σχημα τοῦ κλεινοῦ καστρησίου, καὶ αὖθις ἐξανιστὰν πάντας τοὺς κεκλημένους χλανιδοφόρους διὰ τῆς δπισθίου θέσεως των ακουβίτων, καὶ ἐπανάγειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ των κάτω πρὸς την άνω προσωπικην έξοδον της αυτης περιόδου. και είθ' ούτως μετά την 15 τούτων τελείαν ύπείδυσιν καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης δαιτυμόνας εξάγειν, δηλονότι προπορευομένου αὐτοῖς τοῦ κλεινοῦ καστρησίου τῆς βατῶν αὐτῶν σιλικής τιμίας τραπέζης. ἐπὶ δὲ τής δευτέρας ήμέρας τής πολυσχεδούς ακουβίτων ταύτης καὶ λαμπρας παυδεσίας δεί ήμας εὐτρεπίζειν είς πρόσκλησιν της ήμέρα β' βασιλικής περιβλέπτου τραπέζης δμοίως μαγίστρους, ανθυπάτους, πατρι- 20 κίους, δφφικιαλίους, καὶ οἰκειακούς πρωτοσπαθαρίους, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ιβ΄, συναριθμουμένου αὐτοῖς έξαιρέτως τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν κατὰ τύπον. 745 είσαγειν δε αὐτοὺς πάντας εν τη αὐτῶν ἀνακλήσει χλανιδοφόρους έστολισμένους κατά τὸ ἴδιον σχημα τους δὲ οἰκειακους πρωτοσπαθαρίους μετά των οικείων σπεκίων και ρωέων σαγίων, έμπροσθίω τώ σχήματι, καθώς 25 ανωτέρω δεδήλωται. Εν δε τοις πέριξ ακουβίτοις δει καλείν εφ' εκάτερα μέρη ἐπὶ δύο ἀκουβίτων βασιλικούς ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν σπαθαροκανδιδάτων άξίας και κατωτέρω. Εν δε τοις λοιποίς ακουβίτοις απαντας τους άρχουτας τοῦ τάγματος των σχολων, οδον τοποτηρητήν, ελ τύχοι αὐτὸν

δε τοποτηρητήν και χαρτουλάριον τοῦ αὐτοῦ τάγματος μετὰ και σαγίων ρωέων, δηλουότι προπορευομένου αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀρτικλίνου κατὰ τὸν προγρα- 35 ἡμέρα γ΄ φέντα τύπον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας τῶν αὐτῶν ἀκουβίτων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς πρόσκλησιν, ἐν μὲν τῆ βασιλικῆ τραπέζη ἄρχοντας μεγιστανας τοὺς ἀνωτέρω ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἡμέρας μνημονευθέντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ιβ΄, ἀφαιρουμένου μὲν τοῦ τῶν σχολῶν δομεστίκου, ἀντεισιόντος δὲ κατὰ τύπον τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν ἐξσκουβίτων, εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῆ ἀνα- 40

είναι σπαθαροκανδιδάτον, τοὺς κόμητας τῶν σχολῶν, δομεστίκους τῶν 30 σχολῶν, τὸν προέξημον, προτήκτορας, εὐτυχοφόρους, σκηπτροφόρους, ἀξιωματικούς, μανδάτορας, τὸν ἀριθμὸν σμ΄, καὶ πένητας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ιβ΄· εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῆ ἀνακλήσει μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων σκαραμαγγίων, τὸν

<sup>744 12, 17</sup> κλινοῦ L 16 δπέκδυσιν (etiam ἀπόλυσιν, ἀπήλυσιν) coni. R 17 δὲ δηλονότι L 19 δι (pro δεῖ) L 745 27 ἀπό L: ἐπὶ R B 28 ἀκκουβίτοις L 39 ἀντησιόντος L

κλήσει κατά τὸν προδειχθέντα τύπον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐκατέροις τῶν μερῶν άκουβίτοις δεί καλείν όμοίως έπὶ τοίς δυσίν άκουβίτοις βασιλικούς άνθρώ- 746 πους εν αξιώμασιν εν δε τοις λοιποις ακουβίτοις απαντας τους άρχοντας τοῦ τάγματος τῶν ἐξσκουβίτων, οἶον τοποτηρητήν, σκρίβωνας, τὸν χαρτου-5 λάριον, δρακοναρίους, σκευοφόρους, σιγνοφόρους, σενάτορας, πρωτομανδάτορα καὶ μανδάτορας τὸν ἀριθμὸν σδ΄, καὶ πένητας ιβ΄, εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς κατά τὸν προρρηθέντα τύπον κατά τὸ σχήμα της δευτέρας ήμέρας. της τετάρτης ημέρας της περιφανούς ταύτης, ως είπειν, δεξιώσεως δεί ημας ημέρα δ εὐτρεπίζειν είς κλησιν της βασιλικής τιμίας τραπέζης έκ των ανωτέρω καθ' το εκάστην ημέραν μνημονευθέντων άρχόντων σύν τῷ δρουγγαρίω τῆς βίγλης κατὰ τύπου τὸυ ἀριθμὸυ ιβ', εἰσάγειν δὲ ἄπαυτας ἐυ τῆ ἀνακλήσει μετὰ των οικείων αλλαξιμάτων, καθώς είρηται τον δε δρουγγάριον της βίγλης μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου σκαραμαγγίου καὶ σαγίου ροής. ἐν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀκουβίτοις δεί ήμας καλείν βασιλικούς ανθρώπους κατά τον λεχθέντα τύπον, 15 καὶ ἄπαντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ τάγματος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, οἶον τοποτηρητήν, του χαρτουλάριου, τους κόμητας, τους κευτάρχους, βαυδοφόρους, λαβουρησίους, σημειοφόρους, δουκινιάτορας, μανδάτορας, θυρωρούς, διατρέχοντας, του αριθμού σδ', και είσαγειν αὐτούς ούτως του μεν τοποτηρητήν μετά ροέου σαγίου, τους δε λοιπούς μετά των οικείων σκαραμαγγίων, καθώς 20 ανωτέρω δεδήλωται. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πέμπτης ἡμέρας δεῖ ύμας προευτρεπίζειν 747 είς κλησιν της τιμίας όντως βασιλικής τραπέζης όμου εκ των ανωτέρω ημέρα έ μυημονευθέντων ενδόξων μεγιστάνων σύν τοῦ δομεστίκου των ικανάτων, φίλους του άριθμου ιβ', καὶ είσάγειν αὐτούς μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξημάτων, καθώς άνωτέρω δεδήλωται. Εν δε τοις λοιποις άκουβίτοις δεί καλείν 25 όμοῦ βασιλικούς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἰρήκαμεν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατωτέρω τοὺς ἄρχουτας τοῦ τάγματος τῶν αὐτῶν ἱκανάτων, οἶον τοποτηρητήν, τοὺς κόμητας, του χαρτουλάριου, τους κευτάρχους, βανδοφόρους, σημειοφόρους, δουκινιάτορας καὶ μανδάτορας, σδ' τὸν ἀριθμόν, καὶ πένητας ιβ', εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῆ ἀνακλήσει, καθώς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς τάγμασιν προεγρά-30 φαμεν. σημειωτέον δε τούτο εί γαρ εν τη πρώτη ημέρα της εβδομάδος ή των ενδόξων του Χριστου γενεθλίων επέστη εορτή, και από ταύτης ή των ιθ' ακουβίτων δεξίωσις την αρχην επιδείξηται, δει ήμας εν τη έκτη ήμέρα έπὶ μὲν τῆς τιμίας βασιλικής τραπέζης συγκαλείν εἰς έστίασιν τὸν ἡμέρα 5' άρχιεπίσκοπου Κωυσταυτινουπόλεως μετά καὶ ιβ΄ ἡγουμένων των έν τῆ 35 περί ήμας τόμω κειμένων, είσαγειν δε αὐτοὺς εν τη ἀνακλήσει οὕτως τὸν μεν πατριάρχην σύν τῷ βασιλεῖ αμα τοῦ στίχου εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ δίφρου καθεσθήναι τους δε όσίους ήγουμένους στιχηδόν κατά την οικείαν τάξιν καί άρμόζουσαν δόξαν εἰσάγειν δε αὐτούς, καθώς καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους, μετὰ 748

746 4 τοποτηρητὰs L B: correxi 5 πρωτομανδάτορα scripsi: -oραs L B 6 τὸν ἀριθμὸν scripsi: τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ L B 17 δουκινάτοραs L B 18 τὰν μὲν L 19 ρωέου B 747 21 ὅντος L 23 ἀλλαξιμάτων B et passim 26 τῶν κομήτων L B: correxi 27 τῶν κεντάρχων, βανδοφόρων, σημειοφόρων, δουκινιατόρων καὶ μανδατόρων L B: correxi 30 ἡ γὰρ L 32 δεξίωσης L

των ολκείων αὐτων φελωνίων ἀπολελυμένω τῷ σχήματι, δηλονότι προπο-

ρευομένου αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καστρησίου, καὶ ὁμοίως ἱστῶντος κύκλω της βασιλικής τραπέζης είς τὸ προσκαλέσασθαι πλησιέστερου εξ αὐτῶν οθς αν δόξη τω βασιλεί. Εν δε τοίς λοιποίς ακουβίτοις δεί υμας καλείν τους έκ διαφόρων μοναστηρίων αναγραφομένους αβάδας, ήγουν τους τα 5 σφραγίδια παρ' ήμων είληφότας, του αριθμού σις είσαγειν δε και αὐτούς στιχηδόν, καθώς καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς, ἡμφιεσμένους τὰς οἰκείας στολὰς ώς πρός συνήθειαν ανακλίνειν δε αὐτούς εφ' εκάστης τραπέζης δωδεκάδα μετά δὲ τὴν τούτων ἀνάκλησιν καὶ ἐστίασιν δεῖ ὑμᾶς προσέχειν του τοῦ οπτομίνσου μίνσον, καὶ ἐν τούτω τῷ καιρῷ εἰσάγειν πρὸς χειρονο- το μίαν των ανακειμένων και ψαλλόντων πατέρων τους δύο μεγάλους της έκκλησίας δομεστίκους καὶ ἱστᾶν αὐτοὺς ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν τοῦ περιβλέπτου τρικλίνου πρός τὸ ποιείσθαι, ώς εἴρηται, τὴν χειρονομίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ψαλμφδίαν των ανακειμένων πατέρων. δίδοται οθν κατά τύπον παρά τοθ είδικοθ λόγου τοις μεν ανακειμένοις επί της βασιλικής τραπέζης ιβ' ήγουμένοις είς 15 φιλοτιμίας επίδοσιν ανα νομισμάτων δ' τοις δε λοιποις μονάχοις απασιν άνὰ νομίσματος ένὸς καὶ μόνου τοῖς δὲ δύο δομεστίκοις ἀνὰ νομισμάτων β΄ κατὰ τύπον. δεῖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ ἡμέρα καὶ οἱ πένητες ἐν τῶ 749 κουσιστορίω έσθίουσιν, λαμβάνοντες την κατά συνήθειαν εὐλογίαν. εἰ δὲ έν δ΄ η πέμπτη ημέρα της εβδομάδος η Χριστού γέννησις καταντήσει, και 20 ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄρξηται ή κλησις τελείσθαι τῶν ἀκουβίτων, δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἐν τῆ κυριακή της περιόδου της αὐτης έβδομάδος πρὸ της κλήσεως τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ τῶν ἀβάδων ἐκτελεῖν τὸ λεγόμενον κλητώριον τὸν πολύτριχον, καὶ εὐτρεπίζειν είς συνεστίασιν φίλους ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης μαγίστρους, ανθυπάτους πατρικίους στρατηγούς όκτω και Βουλγάρους φίλους 25 δύο καὶ τοὺς δύο δημάρχους Βενέτων τε καὶ Πρασίνων εἰσάγειν δὲ καὶ έξάγειν αὐτοὺς χλανιδοφόρους, καθὰ καὶ ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς έκατέρων μερών άκουβίτοις δεί ύμας καλείν βασιλικούς άνθρώπους έθνικούς πάντας, οδον Φαργάνους, Χαζάρους, Αγαρηνούς, Φράγγους καὶ ὅσοι τῆς βασιλικής έξ αὐτων ἀπολαύουσι των ρογών προμηθείας εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτούς 30 άπαντας καὶ εξάγειν μετὰ τὸ εθνικὸν ίδιον σχήμα, οίνονεὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῶν έπιλεγόμενον καβάδιν. καὶ είθ' οὕτως τῆ ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰσιούση τῆς εβδομάδος τετράδη προσκαλείσθαι τον πατριάρχην μετά των αὐτοῦ ἡγουμένων ήμέρα ζ΄ καὶ μουαχών, ώς προλέλεκται. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἑβδόμης ἡμέρας των αὐτων ακουβίτων δει ύμας εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς συνεστίασιν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης 35 750 ανθυπάτους, πατρικίους, στρατηγούς, δφφικιαλίους σύν τω ύπάρχω της πόλεως καὶ τῷ δρουγγαρίω τῶν πλοίμων, φίλους δύο καὶ δέκα· εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξάγειν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξιμάτων, καθὰ καὶ δεδήλωται.

748 4 δι L 17 νομήσματος ένδς L 19 χρυσοιστοριω L: corr. Bieliaev I 118 (cf. supra p. 135 l. 15) 749 20 τετάρτη Β 21 ἄρχηται Β 29 ἀγαρίνους L 30 έξαντῆς L: corr. R 32 καβάδιον Β

έν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀκουβίτοις καλεῖν εἰς ἐστίασιν τὸν σύμπονον καὶ τὸν λογοθέτην τοῦ πραιτωρίου, τὸν τοποτηρητὴν τῶν πλοίμων, τὸν χαρτουλάριον 40

τοῦ πλοίμου, τοὺς κόμητας τοῦ πλοίμου, κεντάρχους όμοίως, κριτὰς τῶν ρεγεώνων, ἐπόπτας της πόλεως, γειτονειάρχας, τὸν λεγατάριον τοῦ πραιτωρίου, του κευτυρίωνα, τους πρωτοκαγκελλαρίους, καγκελλαρίους, καί μανδάτορας τοῦ πλοίμου, τὸν ἀριθμὸν σδ΄ εἰσάγειν δὲ καὶ ἐξάγειν αὐτοὺς μετὰ 5 των ολκείων σκαραμαγγίων, πλην τοῦ τοποτηρητοῦ μετὰ καὶ σαγίων ρωέων, καθώς άνωτέρω δεδήλωται. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδόης ἡμέρας τῶν αὐτῶν ἀκου- ἡμέρα ή βίτων έκτελειται το βωτον παιζοδρόμιον, και δει ύμας εθτρεπίζειν είς συνεστίασιν των βασιλέων τους προύχοντας της τάξεως του μυστικού κουβουκλείου, οἶον πραιποσίτους, πρωτοσπαθαρίους εὐνούχους, πριμικηρίους, 10 δστιαρίους, τὸν ἀριθμὸν η', τὸν χαρτουλάριον τῆς βασιλικῆς σακέλλης, τὸν έπὶ τοῦ είδικοῦ λόγου, τὸν ἀκτουάριον καὶ τὸν τῆς καταστάσεως εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξημάτων, οὐ καθώς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἄπαντας έν ταις προλεχθείσαις ήμέραις έκ των κάτω πρός τὰ ἄνω σὺν τῷ καστρησίω την πορίαν ποιούμενοι, αλλ' αθθις σύν τη έξόδω της βασιλικής ανακλήσεως 751 15 στιχίζειν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἀξίωμα κύκλω τῆς τιμίας βασιλικῆς τραπέζης, και άμα της εκφωνήσεως των παρεστώτων βουκαλίων ανακλίνειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῆ λαμπροτάτη τραπέζη, ἐξάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς πάλιν τῆ αὐτῆ ἀκολουθία, ως εξρηται. έπὶ δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀκουβίτοις πρὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς ανακλήσεως προανακλίνονται πένητες οι τα σφραγίδια είληφότες, και έτι 20 αὐτῶν ἀνακειμένων καὶ ἐσθιόντων, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ μίνσου τῶν δουλκίων, αναλαμβάνονται τὰ δοθέντα σφραγίδια ὑπὸ αρτικλίνου, καὶ δίδοται κατὰ τύπον παρά τοῦ είδικοῦ λόγου έκάστω πένητι είς βασιλικὴν εὐλογίαν ἀποκόμβιον έχου ένδοθεν νόμισμα έν. επί δε της εννάτης ημέρας των αὐτων (ημέρα θ') ακουβίτων τελείται κλητώριον δείπνου, δ καὶ τρυγητικὸν καλείται, καὶ δεί 25 ύμας προευτρεπίζειν είς συνεστίασιν τοῦ δείπνου τῷ βασιλεῖ φίλους ιβ΄, οΐον μαγίστρους, ανθυπάτους πατρικίους στρατηγούς οκτώ, φίλους Βουλγάρων δύο, καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρων δύο δημάρχους. προσκαλοῦνται δὲ οῦτοι παρά τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τοῦ ἀρτικλίνου πρωΐας, καὶ μίνσων διδομένων συνεισέρχονται πάντες οἱ κεκλημένοι εἰς συνεστίασιν τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς 30 έσπέρας, καὶ εἰσάγονται καὶ ἐξάγονται πάντες μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξημάτων καὶ καμπαγίων κατὰ ἀκολουθίαν καὶ τύπον τῶν προγραφέντων ἐν τοις άνω. Εν δε τοις εκατέρων των μερών ακουβίτοις δει ύμας καλείν κατά τον δρον της πρώτης ημέρας τους ύπο καμπάγιν συγκλητικούς απαντας, 752 οἷον ἀσηκρήτας, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν σπαθαροκανδιδάτων ἀξίας καὶ κατωτέρω, 35 χαρτουλαρίους τοῦ γενικοῦ λογοθέτου, χαρτουλαρίους τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ λογοθέτου, αντιγραφείς τοῦ κυέστωρος, τὸν σύμπονον, τὸν λογοθέτην καὶ τους κριτάς, νοταρίους του σακελλίου, νοταρίους του βεστιαρίου, νοταρίους τοῦ είδικοῦ, ὑπάτους, σιλεντιαρίους, βεστήτορας καὶ μικροὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν

750 ι πλοίματος bis B: πλο/L τον κόμητα LB: correxi 2 πραί L: πραιποσίτου B: πραιτωρίου scripsi 5 τοῦ τοποτηρητοῦ scripsi : τῶν τοποτηρητῶν LB 13 καστρισίω L 751 ι9 προανακλείνονται πένηταις L 23 ἔχων L 752 35 χαρτουλαρίους bis scripsi : -άριον B 36 κυέστορος B

ταγμάτων, οἷον σκηπτροφόρους, σιγνοφόρους, εὐτυχοφόρους, δρακοναρίους,

м 11

σινάτορας καὶ δουκινιάτορας, καὶ τοὺς έκατέρων μερών δρομεῖς ἄπαντας. δεί δε είσάγειν τους μεν συγκλητικούς απαντας μετά των οίκείων άλλαξημάτων καὶ καμπαγίων, τοὺς δὲ δρομεῖς πάντας μετὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ποδέων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν νικητὰς ἐπὶ τῆς κρείττονος θέσεως τῶν ἀκουβίτων προσανακλίνειν, τους δε ήττηθέντας έπι της έτέρας θέσεως, εν ή και τους πένητας 5 μετὰ δὲ τὴν προέορτον φωταυγίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῶν φατλίων ἐξάγειν αὐτοὺς πάντας κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν προγραφέντα πᾶσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς δεκάτης ήμέρας των αὐτων ἀκουβίτων δει ύμας εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς κλησιν της βασιλικης τῶν αὐτῶν ἀκουβίτων τραπέζης δμοίως ανθυπάτους πατρικίους δφφικιαλίους σύν τῷ δομεστίκω τῶν νουμέρων καὶ τῷ κόμητι τῶν τειχέων, φίλους ιβ' εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς 10 καὶ εξάγειν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξημάτων κατὰ τὸν δηλωθέντα τύπον. 753 εν δε τοις λοιποις άκουβίτοις δει ύμας καλείν τους δύο τοποτηρητάς και χαρτουλαρίους των νουμέρων καὶ τειχέων, τριβούνους, βικαρίους, λεγαταρίους, μανδάτορας, ξενοδόχους, γεροκόμους, χαρτουλαρίους των εὐαγων

οίκων, ἀρχιατρούς καὶ τοὺς διαιταρίους τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου καὶ τῆς Δά- 15 φυης, του αριθμού σδ', και πένητας ιβ' προκινσεύειν δε τους ξενοδόχους καὶ γεροκόμους χαρτουλαρίους καὶ ιατρούς σύν τῶν διαιταρίων ἐπὶ τῆ οπισθείω θέσει του άκουβίτου του βασιλέως, τους δε άργοντας των δύο ταγμάτων έπὶ τῆ κατὰ πρόσωπον θέσει τοῦ βασιλέως εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξάγειν τοὺς μὲν ξενοδόχους μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων σκαραμαγγίων καὶ ῥωέων 20 σαγίων, τους δε ιατρούς άπαντας μετά των οικείων διβενέτων, τους δε των ταγμάτων ἄρχουτας, τοὺς μὲν τοποτηρητὰς καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ ρωέων σαγίων, ήμέρα ια τους δε λοιπους μετά σκαραμαγγίων πάντας. Επί δε της ενδεκάτης ήμέρας απείργεται μεν ή των ακουβίτων εκτελουμένη κλησις, τελειται δε το κλητώριον έσπέρας έν τῷ περιβλέπτω τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τρικλίνω.

χείται γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ κλητώριον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀρτικλίνου πρωίας, και δεί ήμας προσκαλείσθαι είς κλησιν του αυτου δείπνου μαγίστρους, ανθυπάτους, πατρικίους, οφφικιαλίους, πραιποσίτους, πρωτοσπαθαρίους εὐνούχους, πριμικηρίους, ὀστιαρίους, μαγλαβίτας, κόμητας τοῦ άριθμοῦ καὶ κεντάρχους, τὸν ἀριθμὸν κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης, καὶ 30 754 μετὰ τὴν θείαν τῆς ἐσπέρας μυσταγωγίαν δεῖ τὸν καλέσαντα ἀρτικλίνην προτρέψασθαι πάντας ἀποθέσθαι τὰ ξαυτών ἀλλαξήμια καὶ ἐπενδύσασθαι τὰ οἰκεῖα αὐτῶν σκαραμάγγια εἰς τὸ μετ' αὐτῶν συνεστιαθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τύπου. ἡ δὲ ἀγία τῶν φώτων ἡμέρα ξένην τινὰ καὶ περίβλεπτον

ήμέρα ιβ' τῶν άγίων φώτων

ημέρα ι'

λαμπροφορίαν εἰσάγουσα θαυμαστὴν καὶ πανάγαστον τὴν δεξίωσιν ἐκτελεῖ 35 της βασιλικής έστιάσεως. την γαρ ένωσιν των ουρανίων και έπιγείων ταγμάτων διὰ τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ άγίου βαπτίσματος μυστικώς εἰκονί(ουσα τους ἐν τάξει ἀγγέλων ἱερεῖς τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας λευχημονούντας είς συνεστίασιν τῷ βασιλεί συνηγάγετο. καὶ δεί τοὺς ἐν ταύτη τη ημέρα λαχόντας διακονία άκριβως επίστασθαι την εθπρεπή κατά- 40 στασιν της περιφανούς αὐτῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς δεξιώσεως. ἐν γὰρ τῷ τελουμένῳ κράματι της μεγάλης του Θεου έκκλησίας δει ύμας καλείν έπι της τιμίας

6 επίδωσιν Ι

754 35 ἐκτελεῖν L

βασιλικής τραπέζης, μαγίστρους, ανθυπάτους, πατρικίους στρατηγούς, όφφικιαλίους, του άριθμου ιδ' είσάγειν δε αυτούς και εξάγειν μετα των οἰκείων ἀλλαξίμων, ἄνευ μέντοι των ξαυτών χλαμύδων. ἐν δὲ τῆ βασιλικῆ τιμία τραπέζη πρό γε πάντων συνεστιαται δ πατριάρχης τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ 5 δεῖ ἡμᾶς καλεῖν τοὺς λογάδας τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἶον μητροπολίτας σὺν τῶ συγκέλλω του αριθμου ιβ', προστιχίζειν δε αὐτοὺς εν τῆ αὐτῶν εἰσαγωγῆ άρμοδίως κατά του έκάστου θρόνου, δηλουότι ημφιεσμένους αὐτοὺς πάσας 755 τὰς λειτουργικὰς αὐτῶν στολὰς πλην τῶν ώμοφορίων καὶ μόνον συνεισάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξάγειν διὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καστρησίου, καθώς ὁ τύπος τῆς 10 είσαγωγής περιέχει. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀκουβίτων δεῖ ὑμᾶς καλεῖν πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου ιβ', της μεγάλης έκκλησίας κδ', διακόνους όμοίως τοῦ παλατίου, τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, τῆς νέας, λ5', ὑποδιακόνους όμοίως λ5', αναγνώστας όμοίως κδ', ψάλτας όμοίως κδ' καὶ παπάδας τοῦ σεκρέτου τοῦ πατριάρχου λς. όμοῦ σις. εἰσάγειν δε αὐτοὺς 15 καὶ ἐξάγειν οὕτως τοὺς μὲν ἱερωμένους ἄπαντας μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων λευκῶν φελωνίων, τους δε σεκρετικούς, ψάλτας τε και αναγνώστας μετα οίκεια καμήσια μόνου, δηλουότι κατά την τάξιν και έκθεσιν την άνωτέρω μνημονευθείσαν. δεί δὲ προσέχειν ἐν τῆ αὐτῆ ἀνακλήσει καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ μίνσου των λεγομένων δουλκίων, καὶ σὺν τῆ τούτων εἰσόδω συνεισάγειν 20 τους δύο της μεγάλης έκκλησίας λαμπρούς δομεστίκους συν των ψαλτών τε καὶ ὀρφανῶν ἀπάντων τοῦ συφραγίου, λευχημονοῦντας καὶ περιβεβλημένους τὰ οἰκεῖα φελώνια διαιρεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτῶν οὕτως. τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ αὐτῶν δομεστίκῳ ἄμα τῶν ψαλτῶν 756 άπάντων στιχίζειν έπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς θέσεως τῶν τερπνῶν ἀκουβίτων· τῷ δὲ 25 έτέρω δομεστίκω αὐτων σὺν ὀρφανων ἀπάντων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κατά πρόσωπου θέσεως ούσης των ακουβίτων στιχίζειν εισάγειν δε αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἐκατέρων τῶν μερῶν ἄμφω σὺν τῆ εὐλογία τοῦ πατριάρχου, χοροστατείν άπαντας προς αντίφωνον μελωδίαν. καὶ ἡνίκα των γ' αντιφωνών ή ἐκφώνησις λήξει, ἐξάγειν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἄμα ὅθεν καὶ ἐληλύθασιν. 30 ώρίσθη δὲ καὶ παρὰ Λέοντος τοῦ σοφωτάτου δεσπότου εἰς πλείονα δόξαν καὶ μεγίστην εὐχαριστίαν τῆς περιοδικῆς ταύτης καὶ σεβασμίου τῶν έορτων εὐωχίας, ἐν τῆ αὐτῆ τελευταία των ἀκουβίτων ἡμέρα μετὰ τὴν περαίωσιν της λεχθείσης των αντιφωνών αρχαιοπαραδότου κοινής μελωδίας, συνεισάγειν ήμας εν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν δουλκίων τοὺς δ΄ τῆς μεγάλης 35 έκκλησίας περιφανείς δομεστίκους, δηλονότι ημφιεσμένους τὰ οἰκεία αὐτῶν καμήσια καὶ φελώνια μόνα, καὶ ἱστᾶν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῦ περιβλέπτου τρικλίνου κατά διάστασιν ούτως τον μέν α΄ δομέστικον της έβδομάδος κατά μέσον των ξκατέρωθεν τεσσάρων λαμπρών ἀκουβίτων, τὸν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δεύτερον δομέστικον κατὰ μέσον δμοίως τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν δ' ἐκατέρω-40 θεν λαμπρών ἀκουβίτων, τὸν δὲ γ΄ δομέστικον πάλιν δμοίως κατὰ μέσον τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν λαμπρῶν ἀκουβίτων, τὸν δὲ δ' κατὰ μέσον καὶ 757

755 17 μνημονευθήσαν L 19 τουλδίων L: corr. R 756 24 ἄπαντα L: corr. R 25 καὶ L: σὸν RB 31 εὐχαριστείαν L 34 συνησάγειν L

м 11-2

αὐτὸν τῶν ἐξ ἐκατέρων μερῶν καὶ λαμπρῶν ἀκουβίτων. καὶ σὺν τῆ ἐπι-

νεύσει καὶ εὐλογία τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἡμῶν πατριάρχου ἀπάρχεσθαι αὐτοὺς την τιμίαν και θεάρεστον αίνεσιν την έξ οικείων χειλέων τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ θεοπροβλήτου ἡμῶν βασιλέως Λέοντος εξυφανθεῖσαν, καὶ ἄμα τῆ αὐτῆς ἐκφωνήσει καὶ πολυτέχνω τῆς χειρονομίας κινήσει ὁμοθυμαδὸν 5 άπαντας τους άνακειμένους άδειν και συμψάλλειν το ρηθεν ίερον άσμα το έκ μελισταγών χειλέων σταλάξαν άπασι τοις πιστοις ύπηκόοις. μετά δὲ την περαίωσιν της δωδεκαημέρου ταύτης των έορτων εύωχίας τελείται άλλη μεθέορτος ήμέρα δεξίμου, φέρουσα δεξίωσιν μετά σαξίμου. γαρ τελούμενον το του δεξίμου πέρας, ίδικήν τινα κατάστασιν είσάγει το οί γὰρ θεοπρόβλητοι σοφοί δεσπόται μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ τυπικοῦ δεξίμου προκαθέζουται πάλιν εἰς πολλών ἀντίληψιν, καὶ τελεῖται τὸ κλητώριον ἐπὶ ἀποκοπτῆς τραπέζης, ἐν τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ τρικλίνω Ἰουστινιανού του μεγάλου, και δεί ήμας ευτρεπίζειν είς συνεστίασιν των βασιλέων φίλους τους ύπο καμπάγιν απαντας, άρχοντας της συγκλήτου, 15 άπό τε μαγίστρων, ανθυπάτων, πατρικίων, όφφικιαλίων, βασιλικών πρω-758 τοσπαθαρίων, ασηκρητών, χαρτουλαρίων των μεγάλων σεκρέτων, υπάτων, αντιγραφέων, σιλεντιαρίων, βεστητόρων, από ἐπάρχων, σκηπτροφόρων, σιγνοφόρων, σενατόρων καὶ λοιπων άρχόντων των δ΄ ταγμάτων. δεί δὲ προστιχίζειν άπαντας κατά τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης, καὶ εἰσάγειν αὐτοὺς 20 καὶ έξάγειν ἄπαντας μετὰ των οἰκείων ἀλλαξημάτων ημφιεσμένους καὶ τὰς έαυτῶν χλαμύδας ἐμπροσθίω τῷ σχήματι· καὶ δεῖ προσέχειν τὸ τοῦ ὀργάνου φθέγμα, καὶ ἡνίκα τὴν ἀπήχησιν τοῦ φθόγγου παύση, ἐξανιστᾶν ἄπαντας είς εὐφημίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν, καὶ αὖθις ἐκτίθεσθαι τὰς ἑαυτῶν χλαμύδας μέχρι της αφίξεως του μίνσου των δουλκίων, και πάλιν ταύτας ανα- 25 λαμβάνεσθαι πάντας, ὅπως ἂν μετ' αὐτῶν συνεξέλθοιεν ἐν τῆ ὁμοία τάξει. τὸ δὲ ἐπόμενον τῷ δεξίμω ἱππικὸν ἄθλον τελεῖται μὲν τῆ ἐπαύριον τοῦ δεξίμου ήμέρα, καὶ μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπόλυσιν τελεῖται κλητώριον ἐν τῷ τρικλίνω των καθισμάτων. και δει ήμας ευτρεπίζειν φίλους εις συνεστίασιν των δεσποτων κατά τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου 30 πάσης, οδον μαγίστρους, πατρικίους, πραιποσίτους, δφφικιαλίους, πριμικηρίους, οστιαρίους, βασιλικούς πρωτοσπαθαρίους σύν τῷ ἀκτουαρίω καὶ τῷ δεκσογράφω καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ παραστάταις, ἄμα τῶν σκηπτροφόρων, δρακουαρίων, σημειοφόρων καὶ σιγνοφόρων εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἄπαντας 759 μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξημάτων χωρὶς τῶν χλανιδίων, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ 35 παραστάτας μετά των οἰκείων σκαραμαγγίων.

Μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίω.

Τῆ δὲ δευτέρα ἡμέρα τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου μηνὸς ἐορταζομένης τῆς ὑπαπαντῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν Βλαχέρναις, καὶ τελουμένης
τῆς λαμπρᾶς προελεύσεως, τελεῖται τὸ βασιλικὸν κλητώριον εἰς τὸν περί-

<sup>757 3</sup> θεάρετον Β χειρῶν coni. R 6 συμψάλειν L 13 τὼ κλ. L 758 22 τῷ τ. δ. φθέγματι R Β 25 ἀφήξεως L 27 τὼ δὲ L 32 ἀκταρίω L : correxi 33 ἡλιακοῦ forma contracta L (non κλιξ ut ed. Bonn. falso adnotat) 759 35 ἡλιακοῦ (non κλιακοῦ) L 37 μινη (marg.) L

βλεπτου τρίκλινου του 'Ωκεανου πάλαι ἐπικληθέντα ἐπὶ ἀποκοπτῆς τραπέζης, και δει ήμας εὐτρεπίζειν είς συνεστίασιν των βασιλέων φίλους έκ των συγκλητικών, τους ύπο καμπάγιν πάντας, οδον μαγίστρους, ανθυπάτους, πραιποσίτους, πατρικίους, όφφικιαλίους, βασιλικούς πρωτοσπα-5 θαρίους, συγκλητικούς, τὸν πρωτοασήκρητις, χαρτουλάριον τῶν ἐξσκουβίτων, ὑπάτους, βεστήτορας, σιλευτιαρίους, ἀλλαξήματα ἐκ τῶν ταγματικών ἀρχόντων, τὸν ἀριθμὸν κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξάγειν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξιμάτων, χωρὶς τῶν χλαμύδων, κατά την έκάστω προσούσαν της δόξης άξίαν.

Τη δε κυριακή της των κρεών απουσίας επί μεν της βασιλικής τραπέζης Κυριακή της φίλους οὐ δεῖ συγκαλεῖσθαι. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ κλητώριον τοῖς πένησιν ὑφαπλούται έν τη άψίδι, καὶ μόνος ὁ βασιλεύς τους ξαυτού οἰκείους καὶ 760 συγγενείς πρός έστίασιν συγκαλείται. τη δε τρίτη της τυροφάγου ήμέρας προσκαλείται του βασιλέα αμα τη περί αυτου συγκλήτω ο αρχιεπίσκοπος 15 Κωνσταντινουπόλεως έν τῷ εὐαγεῖ μεγάλφ πατριαρχίφ, καὶ τελουμένης

της ίερας λειτουργίας, προτίθεται κλητώριον έν τῷ μεγάλφ σεκρέτφ τοῦ πατριάρχου. καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν πρὸς κλησιν της τοιαύτης τραπέζης, μαγίστρους, πραιποσίτους, ανθυπάτους, πατρικίους, όφφικιαλίους, πρωτοσπαθαρίους, σπαθαροκανδιδάτους, σπαθαρίους, στράτορας, κανδιδάτους καὶ 20 ἄρχοντας τῶν ταγμάτων κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς

καὶ ἐξάγειν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων σκαραμαγγίων καὶ μόνον. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κουφίσματος του πρώτου μίνσου δει ήμας εισάγειν τον πρωτονοτάριον τοῦ πατριάρχου μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου αὐτοῦ ἀναλογίου τε καὶ βιβλίου καὶ ίσταν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐωνύμου θέσεως τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης πρὸς τὸ 25 ύπαναγνώναι τὸν περὶ νηστείας άρμόζοντα λόγον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν συμ-

πλήρωσιν παντός τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον τῶν τυρεψιτῶν ζωμῶν δεῖ προσάγεσθαι τοὺς ψάλτας ἄμφω σὺν τῷ αὐτῶν δομεστίκω, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ιβ΄· ώσαύτως καὶ τοὺς ἀναγνώστας ἄμφω σὺν τῷ αὐτῶν δομεστίκῳ, τὸν άριθμον όμοίως, και ίσταν αὐτους ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μέρη, εἰς τὸ προσάδειν

30 ίερου αίνου κατά τύπου. τοις δε λοιποις άπασιν άνα ένος και μόνου. τῆ 761 δὲ πέμπτη της αὐτης έβδομάδος συγκαλείται εἰς έστίασιν ὑπὸ τῶν πιστῶν βασιλέων έν τῷ μεγάλφ παλατίφ ὁ ἁγιώτατος καὶ οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης, καὶ συνεισέρχονται αὐτῷ μητροπολίται, οθς ἃν βουληθη ὁ αὐτὸς πατριάρχης, καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς κλησιν της τιμίας αὐτῶν συνεστιάσεως ἐξ

35 αὐτῶν τῶν μητροπολιτῶν, οὖς αν τύχη, καὶ πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου εξ και ήγουμένους των βασιλικών μεγάλων μοναστηρίων, όσους αν είναι τύχη, καὶ σεκρετικούς παπάδας τοῦ πατριάρχου κατὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ποσον της τιμίας τραπέζης εἰσάγειν δε αὐτοὺς καὶ εξάγειν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων στολῶν τε καὶ φελωνίων κατὰ τὸν προλεχθέντα † ἐν τῷ περὶ 40 τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ μεγάλω κλητωροθεσίω .

Τῆ δὲ ἐπιούση κυριακή της των άγίων εἰκόνων ὀρθοδοξίας μετὰ την Της ὀρθο-

760 30 κατὰ τύπον. hic lacunam susp. R 39 ἐν τῷ τρικλίνφ Ἰουστ. τοῦ μεγάλου κλητοροθεσίου τύπον exspectes

ύπάντησιν τῆς ἐκ βλαχερνῶν εἰσιούσης φαεινῆς λιτανείας καὶ τὴν ἱερωτάτην μυσταγωγίαν ἐκτελεῖται κλητώριον ἐκ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκονομίου ἐν τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ πατριαρχικῷ σεκρέτῳ, καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς συνεστίασιν φίλους τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ πατριάρχῃ, μαγίστρους, πραιποσίτους, ἀνθυπάτους, πατρικίους, μητρο-5 πολίτας, ἀρχιεπισκόπους, ὀφφικιαλίους καὶ ἄρχοντας τῆς περιφανοῦς συγκλήτου, κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ποσοῦ τῆς τραπέζης εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἄπαντας καὶ ἐξάγειν οὕτως τοὺς μὲν συγκλητικοὺς μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῶν σκαραμαγγίων καὶ μόνον, τοὺς δὲ ἱερεῖς μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων σχημάτων.

Μὴν Μάρτιος.

Τη δε κε του Μαρτίου μηνός τελείται ή ευσημος και περιφανής έρρτη το τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, καὶ τελουμένης της τυπικής προελεύσεως έν τῷ ναῷ τῶν Χαλκοπρατείων είσερχονται οι βασιλείς εν τῷ παλατίφ μετὰ τῆς παραδόξου πάσης συγκλήτου λαμπροφορούντες, καὶ μετὰ τὴν εἴσοδον ταύτην ἀποτίθονται πάντες τὰς ξαυτών στολὰς κατὰ τύπον, καὶ φορούντων τῶν 15 εὐσεβῶν ἡμῶν βασιλέων τὰ κεχρυσωμένα αὐτῶν σκαραμάγγια, συναμφιάζονται πάντες δμοίως τὰ οἰκεῖα αὐτῶν σκαραμάγγια, καὶ τελεῖται κλητώριον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ περιφανεστάτῳ τρικλίνω τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐπὶ ἀποκοπτής τραπέζης, καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς συνεστίασιν τῶν βασιλέων έν τῆ τοιαύτη ἡμέρα μαγίστρους, πραιποσίτους, ανθυπάτους, πατρικίους, 20 στρατηγούς, δφφικιαλίους, βασιλικούς πρωτοσπαθαρίους καὶ λοιπούς άρχουτας έκ των βασιλικών ταγμάτων κατά τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης. ελσάγειν δε αὐτοὺς καὶ εξάγειν εν τῆ κλήσει μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων σκαραμαγγίων καὶ μόνον. τῆ δὲ πρὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως λαμπρᾶ κυριακῆ 763 των βαίων τελείται ή προέλευσις έν τω θεοφυλάκτω ίερω παλατίω. προ- 25 καθεσθέντων γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἡμῶν βασιλέων έξαλλαγμένων άμα τῷ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχη καὶ τοῦ κουβουκλείου παντὸς πρό προσώπου αὐτῶν κατὰ τάξιν στιχηδὸν παρεστῶτος, εἰσάγονται οἱ δ΄ δομέστικοι τῶν ταγμάτων σὺν τοῖς δυσὶ δημάρχοις καὶ τῷ χαρτουλαρίφ της βασιλικης σακέλλης, και σύν τούτοις δε πάντες οι γηροκόμοι τε και 30 ξενοδόχοι τῶν εὐαγῶν οἴκων, καὶ τῆς εἰσκομιδῆς τῶν τιμίων σταυρίων παρ' αὐτοῖς τελουμένης, εἰσάγονται πάντες, μάγιστροι, ἀνθύπατοι, πατρίκιοι καὶ ὀφφικιάλιοι κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων, ἐστολισμένοι τας ξαυτών λευκάς χλανίδας, και της διανομής τών τιμίων σταυρίων είς αὐτοὺς γεναμένης, τελεῖται ή λιτάνιος ύμνωδία ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας 35 Θεοτόκου τοῦ Φάρου πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τῆς ἁχίας τριάδος τῆς Δάφνης, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποστροφῆς ταύτης τελεῖται κλητώριον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου 'Ιουστινιανού τρικλίνου, καὶ δεί ήμας εὐτρεπίζειν είς συνεστίασιν των βασιλέων φίλους, μαγίστρους, πραιποσίτους, ανθυπάτους, πατρικίους, δφφικιαλίους, ξενοδόχους, γηροκόμους, τοποτηρητας των ταγμά- 40 των κατά τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ποσοῦ τῆς τραπέζης, καὶ εἰσάγονται πάντες οἱ

κεκλημένοι μετά των οἰκείων άλλαξίμων, πλην των χλανιδίων, οἱ δὲ γηροκόμοι καὶ ξενοδόχοι καὶ τοποτηρηταὶ τῶν ταγμάτων μετὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα αὐτῶν σκαραμάγγια. τῆ δὲ ἁγία καὶ ἱερά πέμπτη τῆς λαμπράς ὄντως καὶ περιφανούς έβδομάδος, εν ή ὁ της θείας μυσταγωγίας παρὰ της ἄνω σοφίας 764 5 εφήπλωται δείπνος, τελείται προέλευσις παγανή εν τῷ λαμπρῷ παλατίω, καὶ προευτρεπίζεται παρ' ἡμῶν ἡ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ δείπνου κλησις πρωΐας, καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς συνεστίασιν τῶν δεσποτῶν μαγίστρους, πραιποσίτους, ανθυπάτους, πατρικίους, δφφικιαλίους, πρωτοσπαθαρίους ευνούχους, πριμικηρίους, όστιαρίους, μαγλαβίτας, κόμητας τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ το κευτάρχους κατά το ποσού της τραπέζης, και τούτους προσκαλείσθαι έπι τὸν της έσπέρας δείπνον. ἀπολυομένης οὖν της συγκλήτου πάσης καὶ πάλιν πρός ώραν θ' επανιούσης, συνέρχονται πάντες οι κεκλημένοι είς τὸ τελέσαι τὴν ἱερὰν εὐωχίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τῆς πνευματικῆς λειτουργίας προτίθεται το βασιλικου κλητώριου επὶ τοῦ περιβλέπτου 15 τρικλίνου τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ, καὶ προκαθεσθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῆς τιμίας τραπέζης, εἰσάγονται πάντες οἱ κεκλημένοι μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων σκαραμαγγίων καὶ μόνον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆ αὐτῶν ἐξόδω λαβόντες παρ' ἡμῶν φατλία σὺν ἡμῖν ἐξέρχονται πάντες. τῷ δὲ ἁγίφ καὶ τιμίφ σαββάτφ ἀνεφχθέντος τοῦ λαμπροῦ παλατίου, τελεῖται προέλευσις δημοσία πρὸς την άγίαν 20 Σοφίαν, καὶ ὑπαλλαττομένης τῆς ἐνδυτῆς τῆς τιμίας καὶ ἁγίας τραπέζης, είσερχεται δ βασιλεύς εν τώ σκευοφυλακίω, και της διανομής γενομένης τῶν νάρδων, ὑποστρέφει πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ δόξης ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ παλατίω, και δει ήμας εὐτρεπίζειν εις συνεστίασιν του βασιλέως εν τώ 765 έσπερίω δείπνω φίλους, μαγίστρους, πραιποσίτους, ανθυπάτους, πατρικίους, 25 πρωτοσπαθαρίους όφφικιαλίους, πρωτοσπαθαρίους εύνούχους, πριμικηρίους, όστιαρίους, μαγλαβίτας, τοποτηρητάς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης, καὶ στοιχουμένου παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλητωρίου, καὶ δι' ἡμῶν κλητωρευομένων τῶν φίλων, ἀπολύονται οϊκαδε πάντες. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην ὥραν συνάξεως γινομένης, ἐξαλλάσ-30 σουσιν οἱ τῆς συγκλήτου πάντες, καὶ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Φάρου τελουμένης, μετὰ τὴν ἐκφώνησιν τοῦ μυστικοῦ ὀργάνου ἐκδιδύσκονται πάντες τὰς ξαυτών στολάς, καὶ ἐπενδιδύσκονται τὰ οἰκεῖα σκαραμάγγια, καὶ ισταται τὸ κλητώριον ἐν τῷ περιφανεστάτῳ τρικλίνω τοῦ Ιουστινιανού, καὶ εἰσάγονται πάντες οἱ κεκλημένοι μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων 35 σκαραμαγγίων καὶ μόνον· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῶν φατλίων συνεξέρχονται ημίν οι πάντες.

Ή δὲ ἀγία καὶ δεδοξασμένη τῆς Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως περιφανὴς ἡμέρα, ᾿Αρχὴ τῶν èν ἢ τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν οἰκονομήθη κεφάλαιον, καὶ ὁ χοϊκὸς ᾿Αδὰμ κλητωρίων τοῦ έκ της φθορας πρός την ζωην έπανηλθεν, λαμπράν τινα καὶ περίβλεπτον 40 εὐωχίαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν προεξένησεν. τὸ γὰρ ὕψος τῆς ἱερᾶς αναστάσεως μυστικώς ύποφαίνοντες έκ των κάτω καθεδρών έαυτους συνα-

764 4 σωφίας L 765 27 στυχουμένου L 28 ύπολύονται Β 35 ἐπίδωσιν L 40 προσεξένησεν Β

766 8 νηκητικὸν L 11 προκρήτους L 767 20 ἐλάττωνες L 24 κλῆμα L: corr. R 25 ἐς τιμήν B 27 ὀφφικιαλίων, σεκρετικῶν B, non recte, cf. infra 784. 5 fort. τοῦ ⟨λογοθέτου τοῦ⟩ στρατιωτικοῦ sed vix necessarium 28 ἀσηκριτῶν L

των λεχθέντων τούτων στιχίζειν αὖθις ένθεν κἀκείθεν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως των κανδιδάτων καὶ κατωτέρω πρὸς τὸ καθεσθήναι ἐπὶ των ἑκατέρων δύο προκρίτων τραπεζών. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς κατωτέραις τραπέζαις δεῖ προστιχίζειν, επί μεν της εξ εθωνύμου θέσεως τους εξ 'Αγάρων δεσμίους, επί δε 5 της έτέρας τραπέζης τους των φίλων Βουλγάρων ανθρώπους πάντας. είσάγειν δε αὐτοὺς ἄπαντας καὶ εξάγειν οὕτως τοὺς μεν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου πάντας καὶ τῶν ταγμάτων μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξήμων, τοὺς δὲ 'Αγαρηνούς λευκοφόρους, άζώνους καὶ ὑποδεδεμένους, τοὺς δὲ Βουλγάρων ανθρώπους μετα των οικείων αυτών σχημάτων. δεί δε προσέχειν 10 την εκφώνησιν καὶ ἀπήχησιν τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων, καὶ ἡνίκα τὸ ἀδόμενον άση μέλος, ανιστάν άπαντας είς εθφημίαν των δεσποτών και αθθις τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἐκδιδύσκεσθαι χλαμύδας, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀφίξεως τοῦ μίνσου των δουλκίων πάλιν ταύτας αναλαμβάνειν προς το μετ' αὐτων ἐκπορεύεσθαι έν τη αὐτῶν ἐξόδω. ἐν δὲ τῆ αὐτῆ ἀναστάσει δεῖ προσέχειν τὸ ἐκ βασι-15 λικής χειρός διδόμενον τής έγέρσεως σχήμα, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκφώυησιν τοῦ παρεστώτος ἐκεῖ κουβικουλαρίου, καὶ αὖθις ἐξανιστάν καὶ προπέμπειν τους των δ΄ τραπεζων κεκλημένους, μικρον εξργοντας τους άνω φίλους, καὶ είθ' ούτως συνεξερχομένους άπαντας. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς δευτέρας ήμέρας τελείται μεθέορτος προέλευσις έν τῷ σηκῷ τῶν κορυφαίων καὶ 769 20 άγίων ἀποστόλων. καὶ πληρουμένης της ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, προτίθεται κλητώριον έπὶ ἀποκοπτής τραπέζης ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τρικλίνῳ τῶν παλατίων, καὶ δεῖ ὑμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς συνεστίασιν τῷ βασιλεῖ μαγίστρους, πραιποσίτους, ανθυπάτους, πατρικίους, στρατηγούς, μητροπολίτας, δφφικιαλίους, πρωτοσπαθαρίους, ασηκρήτας, χαρτουλαρίους, ύπάτους, βεστήτορας, σι-25 λεντιαρίους καὶ ἀλλαξίμων των ταγματικών ἀρχόντων κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης είσάγειν δε αὐτούς καὶ εξάγειν μετά των οἰκείων ἀλλαξίμων καὶ καμισίων, ἄνευ μέντοι των ξαυτών χλαμύδων προσέχειν δὲ τοῖς ευφημούσι δήμοις, καὶ ἡνίκα ἄρξονται ἀκτολογείν τοὺς δεσπότας, δεί έξανιστάν πάντας τους κεκλημένους πρός το και αυτούς πραέως συνευ-30 φημείν τους δεσπότας. τη δε τρίτη ημέρα της αυτης εβδομάδος τελείται παγανή προέλευσις μετα άλλαξιμάτων ένδον τοῦ παλατίου, καὶ τελείται κλητώριον ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου κατὰ τὸ σχήμα της πρώτης ημέρας. καὶ δεῖ ἡμῶς εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς κλησιν ἐπὶ της χρυσης τραπέζης ἀπὸ της τάξεως των μαγίστρων, πατρικίων καὶ λοιπών σὺν τῷ δομεστίκω των 35 σχολών καὶ βασιλικών ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τών σπαθαροκανδιδάτων μέχρι της τάξεως των στρατώρων, κατά τὸ ποσὸν της τραπέζης φίλους λ'. ελσάγειν δε αὐτοὺς καὶ εξάγειν, τοὺς μεν ὑπὸ καμπάγιν πάντας μετὰ τῶν 770 οἰκείων ἀλλαξημάτων, πλην καὶ χλανίδος τοὺς δὲ πρωτοσπαθαρίους μετὰ σπεκίων καὶ ρωέων σαγίων τους δὲ βασιλικους μετά των σκαραμαγγίων 40 καὶ μόνον. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς κάτω τέσσαρσι τῶν καμαρῶν τραπέζαις δεῖ ἡμᾶς συγκαλείν βασιλικούς κανδιδάτους καὶ μανδάτορας καὶ μικρούς ἄρχοντας τοῦ τάγματος τῶν σχολῶν, τὸν ἀριθμὸν οβ΄ εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς μετὰ

769 24 ἀσηκρίτας 25 scribendum ἀλλαξίμους

768 19 σικφ LB

των οἰκείων σκαραμαγγίων καὶ ἀλλαξημάτων. τῆ δὲ τετάρτη ἡμέρα τῆς αὐτης εὐωχίας τελεῖται ὁμοίως προέλευσις παγανη μετὰ ἀλλαξημάτων ένδον τοῦ παλατίου, καὶ εἰσάγονται τὰ φωτίσματα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀρφανοτρόφου, καὶ τελείται τὸ κλητώριον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρυσοτρικλίνω ἐπὶ τῆς χρυσῆς τραπέζης. και δεί ήμας εὐτρεπίζειν είς συνεστίασιν των βασιλέων φίλους, 5 ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῶν μαγίστρων, πατρικίων σὺν τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν έξσκουβίτων καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ σκριβώνων κατὰ τὸν προλεχθέντα τύπον, καὶ είσάγειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξάγειν, καθὰ εἴρηται. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς κατὰ τῶν καμαρων τραπέζαις δεί ήμας συγκαλείν έκ των λεχθέντων βασιλικών ανθρώπων καὶ τῶν μικρῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ ἐξσκουβίτου τὸν ἀριθμὸν οβ΄, καὶ εἰσάγειν το αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸν προλεχθέντα τύπον. τῆ δὲ πέμπτη ἡμέρα τῆς αὐτῆς πανδεσίας είσερχεται ο πατριάρχης μετά των αὐτοῦ μητροπολιτών δοῦναι 771 ἀγάπην τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τελεῖται προέλευσις παγανή δι' ἀλλαξίμων ἔνδον τοῦ παλατίου, καὶ συγκαθέζεται τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς συνεστίασιν ὁ πατριάρχης έπὶ τῆς ἀποκοπτῆς χρυσῆς τραπέζης ἐν τῷ χρυσέῳ τρικλίνω, καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς 15 εὐτρεπίζειν ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς χρυσῆς τραπέζης φίλους ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν μητροπολιτών ί, καὶ ἀπὸ τών βασιλικών πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ παλατίου έξ, καὶ ήγουμένους των βασιλικών μοναστηρίων ιβ΄, εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξάγειν ούτως τούς μεν μητροπολίτας μετά των οἰκείων ἀλλαξημάτων, πλην των ώμοφορίων, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους μετὰ τῶν λευκῶν φελωνίων, τοὺς δὲ 20 ήγουμένους καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῶν φελωνίων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κάτω τραπεζων δεί ήμως συγκαλείν από των βασιλικών κληρικών από της τάξεως των διακόνων καὶ κατωτέρω καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σεκραίτου τοῦ πατριάρχου παπάδας, του ἀριθμόν. . . . εἰσάγειν δὲ καὶ ἐξάγειν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῶν καμησίων καὶ μόνον. τῆ δὲ ἔκτη ἡμέρα τῆς 25 αὐτῆς περιόδου τελείται προέλευσις παγανή μετὰ ἀλλαξιμάτων ἔνδον τοῦ παλατίου, καὶ εἰσάγονται οἱ ἐκ Βουλγάρων φίλοι μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Βουλγάρων δώρων. καὶ τελεῖται κλητώριον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ περιβλέπτῳ τρικλίνῳ ἐπὶ της αυτης χρυσης τραπέζης, και δεί ήμας ευτρεπίζειν είς συνεστίασιν του βασιλέως φίλους ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῶν μαγίστρων, ἀνθυπάτων καὶ λοιποὺς 30 σύν των έκ Βουλγάρων φίλων καὶ τῷ δρουγγαρίω τῆς βίγλης καὶ τῷ δομεστίκω των ίκανάτων, τον αριθμον λ' στιχίζειν δε αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰσάγειν 772 κατὰ τὸν λεχθέντα τύπον τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κάτω τραπεζῶν δεί συγκαλείν ἀπό τε κομήτων καὶ κεντάρχων τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱκανάτων ἄνδρας νδ΄, καὶ ἐκ τῶν Βουλγάρων φίλων ἀνθρώπους ιη΄ στιχίζειν 35 δε δεί τους Βουλγάρων ανθρώπους επί της κάτω τελευταίας μιας τραπέζης μόνους είσάγειν δε αὐτοὺς καὶ εξάγειν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῶν σκαραμαγγίων. τη δε εβδόμη ημέρα της αὐτης δεξιώσεως τελείται ώσαύτως παγανή προέλευσις ένδον τοῦ παλατίου, καὶ γίνεται κλητώριον έν τῷ αὐτῷ τρικλίνω έπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης, καὶ συγκαλοῦνται εἰς ἐστίασιν τῷ 40 βασιλεί όμοίως ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῶν μαγίστρων καὶ πατρικίων σὺν τῷ ύπάρχω της πόλεως καὶ τοῖς δυσὶ δομεστίκοις, νουμέρων τε καὶ τειχέων,

καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοποτηρητῶν σὺν τῷ λογοθέτη τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ τῷ συμπόνω του άριθμου λ'. εἰσάγουται δὲ καὶ ἐξάγουται μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῶν ἀλλαξιμάτων καὶ χλανιδίων. ἐν δὲ ταῖς κάτω τραπέζαις συγκαλοῦνται τριβοῦνοι, βικάριοι, οἱ ἐθνικοὶ τῆς ἐταιρείας, οἶον Τοῦρκοι, Χαζάρεις 5 καὶ λοιποί, τὸν ἀριθμὸν νδ΄. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τιμίας τραπέζης συγκαλοῦνται οί δώδεκα γειτονιάρχαι, οί δ΄ ἐπόπται καὶ οί δύο πρωτοκαγκελλάριοι τοῦ έπάρχου. εἰσάγονται δὲ μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων καμισίων καὶ μόνον, οἱ δὲ έθνικοι μ τὰ τῶν αὐτῶν καβαδίων. δίδοται δὲ τοῖς γειτονιάρχαις καὶ λοιποις ανα νομίσματος ένός. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν προλαβόντων χρόνων συνεκατο λούντο άντὶ τούτων οἱ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου τῆς άγίας Σοφίας χαρτουλάριοι, λαμβάνοντες την αὐτην εὐλογίαν. τη δε νέα κυριακή, τη μεθεόρτω του 773 πάσχα, έκτελείται προέλευσις λαμπροφόρος έν τῷ σεβασμίω ναῷ τῶν άγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τελουμένης της ἱερας λειτουργίας, προτίθεται κλητώριον εν τῷ λεχθέντι τρικλίνω επί τῆς δευτέρας ἡμέρας, καὶ συνεστιάται 15 τω βασιλεί ὁ άγιωτατος ἡμων πατριάρχης ἐπὶ ἀποκοπτής τραπέζης, καὶ συγκαλούνται είς έστίασιν σύν τῷ βασιλεῖ φίλοι κατὰ τύπον τῆς δευτέρας ήμέρας τη έπαύριον τοῦ ίεροῦ πάσχα. τη δὲ ἐπαύριον της νέας κυριακής ήμέρα εκτελείται δεξίωσις δεξίμου άνευ σαξίμου, και καθέζεται δ βασιλεύς έπὶ ἀποκοπτής τραπέζης μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου δηβητισίου ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ 20 τρικλίνου. καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς συγκαλεῖν εἰς ἐστίασιν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῶν μαγίστρων, πραιποσίτων, ανθυπάτων, πατρικίων, δφφικιαλίων καὶ λοιπών των ύπο καμπάγιν πάντων κατά το ποσον της τραπέζης είσάγειν δε καί έξάγειν πάντας μετά των οἰκείων αὐτων άλλαξιμάτων τε καὶ χλανιδίων. προσέχειν δε και το μουσικον μέλος και εξανιστάν τους κεκλημένους εν 25 τῷ προδηλωθέντι χρόνω εἰς εὐφημίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν. τῆ δὲ ἐπαύριον τοῦ αὐτοῦ δεξίμου τελεῖται ἐπόμενον ἱππικὸν ἀπολύσιμον, καὶ ἐξαποστέλλονται πρός τὰ οἰκεῖα οἱ ἀπὸ Βουλγάρων φίλοι, καὶ προτίθεται κλητώριον ἐν τῷ 774 περιβλέπτω τρικλίνω των καθισμάτων, καὶ συνεσθίουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ οἱ πραιπόσιτοι, πατρίκιοι, όφφικιάλιοι, πρωτοσπαθάριοι, χαρτουλάριοι, υπατοι, 30 βεστήτορες, σιλευτιάριοι, ὁ ἀκτουάριος καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ σὺν τῷ δεκσωγράφω, τὸν ἀριθμὸν κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης. εἰσάγονται δὲ καὶ εξάγονται κατὰ τὸν ἀνωτέρω λεχθέντα τρόπον. μεσούσης δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα τελεῖται προέλευσις δημοσία, καὶ προέρχονται οἱ βασιλεῖς έμπράττως είς του ναου τοῦ άγίου Μωκίου, καὶ τελουμένης της ίερας 35 λειτουργίας προτίθεται κλητώριον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ ἀποκοπτῆς τραπέζης ἐν τοις έκεισε τρικλίνοις, και συνεστιάται ὁ πατριάρχης τῷ βασιλεί, και δεί ήμας εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς συνεστίασιν αὐτῶν φίλους ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῶν μαγίστρων, ανθυπάτων, πατρικίων, μητροπολίτας, δφφικιαλίους και ταγματικούς, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου ⟨ύπὸ⟩ καμπάγιν ⟨ὄν⟩των κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν

772 9 νομήσματος L 773 11 θεώρτω L 774 29 κα<br/>ὶ χαρτ. Β 30 δεησογράφω Β 39 (ὁπὸ) καμπάγιν ὅντων scripsi : καμπαγίων τῶν L : καμπαγίων R B 40 ἐξάγιν L ἀλλαξίμων B

40 της τραπέζης εισάγειν δε αυτούς και εξάγειν μετά των οίκείων άλλα-

δήμων χρόνω έξανισταν άπαντας τους κεκλημένους είς ευφημίαν των δεσποή ἀνάληψις, των. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θείας καὶ ἱερας μετὰ σαρκὸς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θαυμαστής ἡμέρας τελεῖται δημοσία προέλευσις παρά των βασιλέων ήμων των άγίων έν τῷ πανσέπτω καὶ 5 775 σεβασμίω ναῷ τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου τῆς πηγῆς, καὶ τελουμένης της ίερας λειτουργίας, προτίθεται κλητώριον τω βασιλεί ἐπὶ ἀποκοπτής τραπέζης, καὶ συνεστιάται ὁ πατριάρχης τῷ βασιλεί, καὶ συγκαλούνται είς συνεστίασιν αὐτῷ φίλοι ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῶν μαγίστρων καὶ κατωτέρω κατά την έκθεσιν καὶ τὸ σχημα τῶν προλεχθεισῶν περιφανῶν 10 προελεύσεων.

ξίμων χωρίς των χλανιδίων εν δε τώ προλεχθέντι της ακτολογίας των

Η πεντηκοστή.

Τη δε άγία της πεντηκοστης ημέρα τελείται προέλευσις κατά τον τύπον της τοῦ σεβασμίου πάσχα ἐν τῆ ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολικῆ καὶ ἀποστολική εκκλησία, καὶ προτίθεται κράμα εκείσε τοίς βασιλεύσιν, καὶ προσκαλοθνται οἱ ἀνωτέρω λεχθέντες φίλοι. καὶ ὑποστροφης τῶν βασι- 15 λέων εν τῷ μεγάλω παλατίω μετὰ προελεύσεως γενομένης, προτίθεται τὸ βασιλικου κλητώριου έπὶ ἀποκοπτής τραπέζης ἐν τῶ περιβλέπτω 'Ιουστινιανού τρικλίνω, καὶ συνεστιώνται τῷ βασιλεῖ οἱ κατὰ τύπον ἀνωτέρω λεχθέντες φίλοι, είσαγόμενοι καὶ έξαγόμενοι μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξιμάτων χωρίς χλανιδίων. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἁγίαν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραν 20 έκτελείται τὸ στέψιμον τοῦ δεσπότου. τῆ δὲ πρώτη τοῦ Matou μηνὸς τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐκτελοῦνται τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς νέας ἐκκλησίας, καὶ λιτανίου προελεύσεως γινομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἀγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Φάρου, τελεῖται ἡ θεία 776 λειτουργία, καὶ προτίθεται κλητώριον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐν τῶ τερπνῶ χρυ-

της νέας.

σοτρικλίνω, καὶ συνεστιάται τω βασιλεῖ ὁ πατριάρχης, καὶ συγκαλούνται 25 είς συνεστίασιν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῶν μαγίστρων, πραιποσίτων, πατρικίων καὶ λοιπῶν βασιλικῶν ἀνθρώπων σὺν τῶν μητροπολιτῶν κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης. τῆ δὲ ια τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαΐου μηνὸς τελείται τὸ γενέθλιον της πόλεως ταύτης, καὶ ἐκτελεῖται δεξίωσις δεξίμου χωρὶς σαξίμου καὶ ἱππικὸυ ἱπποδρόμιου, καὶ τελεῖται κλητώριου κατὰ τὸυ 30 λεχθέντα τύπον. τη δε δγδόη τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαΐου μηνὸς τελεῖται προέλευσις της μυήμης του Θεολόγου εν τώ Εβδόμω, και τελουμένης της λειτουργίας, προτίθεται κλητώριον, καὶ συγκαλοῦνται κατὰ τύπον οἱ τῆς συγκλήτου πάντες κατά τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης. τῆ δὲ κ' τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνός έκτελείται διά λιτανίου προελεύσεως ένδον τοῦ παλατίου ή μνήμη 35 Ήλιοῦ τοῦ προφήτου, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἡ ἀνάκλησις τῆς περιορήσεως τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως. προεκτελεῖται δὲ πρὸ αὐτῆς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν τῆ παραμονή έσπερινον εν τῷ Φάρῳ, καὶ ἄδεται παρὰ πάντων ἀπολύσιμον δσμα Ισόμελον τοῦ 'συνταφέντες', καὶ δίδοται τοῖς μαγίστροις, πραιποσίτοις, ανθυπάτοις, πατρικίοις καὶ ὀφφικιαλίοις είς τύπον παρά τοῦ 40 βασιλέως σταυρίτζια άργυρα. τη δε επαύριον ημέρα, εν ή την εορτην έκτελουμεν, προκαθέζεται ο βασιλεύς μετα άλλαξιμάτων επί του ενδόξου

775 10 προλεχθησών L

12 πεντικοστής L

776 28 μηνδs om. B

χρυσοτρικλίνου, καὶ παρεστώτος τοῦ μυστικοῦ κουβουκλείου, εἰσάγονται 777 ό,τε τοῦ σακελλίου καὶ οἱ ξενοδόχοι καὶ γηροκόμοι, προσάγοντες σταυροὺς χρυσοστοιβάστους κατὰ μίμησιν της έορτης των βαΐων, καὶ λαμπροφορούντων πάντων, είσάγεται ή τάξις των μαγίστρων, ανθυπάτων, πατρι-5 κίων καὶ δφφικιαλίων έμπροσθεν τοῦ δεσπότου, καὶ διανομής τῶν λεχθέντων σταυρίων ύπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως γενομένης, τελείται, ως έφαμεν, δημοσία λιτάνιος προέλευσις ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Φάρου ἐπὶ τὸν περίβλεπτου ναὸν τῆς μεγάλης νέας ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τελουμένης τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, προτίθεται κλητώριον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου, 10 καὶ συνεστιάται τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὅ,τε πατριάρχης καὶ οἱ μητροπολίται, μάγιστροι, πραιπόσιτοι, ανθύπατοι, πατρίκιοι, δφφικιάλιοι καὶ λοιποὶ βασιλικοί κατά τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης. προκαθέζεται δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς μετά τοῦ οἰκείου διβητησίου, καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσάγειν καὶ ἐξάγειν πάντας τους κεκλημένους μετά των οικείων αυτών άλλαξιμάτων χωρίς των χλανι-15 δίων. τη δε επαύριον τελείται δεξίωσις δεξίμου καὶ μεγάλου σαξίμου, καὶ προτεθέντος βασιλικοῦ κλητωρίου ἐπὶ ἀποκοπτῆς τραπέζης ἐν τῷ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τρικλίνω, προκαθέζεται ὁ βασιλευς μετά τοῦ οἰκείου διβητησίου, καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς συνεστίασιν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως πραιποσίτων, πατρικίων, δφφικιαλίων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σεκρετικῶν τῶν ὑπὸ 20 καμπάγιν πάντων κατά τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ έξάγειν μετά των οἰκείων ἀλλαξιμάτων τε καὶ χλανιδίων. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς 778 μαγίστρους, ανθυπάτους, πατρικίους καὶ απαντας τους βασιλικούς ανθρώπους ταμιεύειν αὐτούς μετά θωρακίων καὶ κονδομανίκων εἰς τὸ σάξιμον της τραπέζης, χορευόντων δε πάντων πέριξ της βασιλικής τραπέζης καὶ 25 την ανάρρυσιν εθφημούντων τοῦ σοφωτάτου δεσπότου, δίδοται παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτοις είς φιλοτιμίας επίδοσιν αποκόμβιον έχου χρυσοῦ λίτρας γ' προσέχειν δὲ δεῖ τὴν ἀκτολογίαν τοῦ δήμου, καὶ ἐξανιστῶν ἄπαντας τοὺς κεκλημένους πρός εὐφημίαν τοῦ δεσπότου κατὰ τὸν προγραφέντα τύπον. έφεξης δε ταύτης της ήμέρας τελείται πεζοδρόμιου βωτου τωυ πολιτών 30 τυπωθέν έπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου, καὶ δίδονται σφραγίδια ώς κατὰ τύπον τοῦ βωτοῦ πεζοδρομίου, καὶ προτίθεται κλητώριον τῷ βασιλεί έπὶ ἀποκοπτής τραπέζης κατὰ την μέσην θέσιν τοῦ περιφανοῦς τρικλίνου των ιθ΄ τερπνων ακουβίτων, και συνεστιώνται τώ βασιλεί οί πραιπόσιτοι σὺν τοῖς εὐνούχοις πρωτοσπαθαρίοις καὶ πριμικηρίοις, τὸν 35 ἀριθμὸν ἔξ, ὡσαύτως καὶ πάντες οἱ πένητες οἱ τὰ σφραγίδια τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ χειρὸς τῶν μεγιστάνων λαβόντες, καὶ δίδοται αὐτοῖς ἀποκόμβιν ἀνὰ νομίσματος α γ΄. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας δύο τελεῖται ἱππικὸν ἱπποδρόμιον, καὶ προτίθεται κλητώριον ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικλίνου τοῦ καθίσματος, καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν είς συνεστίασιν τῷ βασιλεῖ φίλους κατὰ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἱππο-40 δρομικοῖς κλητωρίοις λεχθέντα τύπον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς 5' τοῦ Αὐγούστου 779 μηνὸς ήμέρας εκτελείται ή προέλευσις μετα άλλαξίματος εν τή μεγάλη

29 πεζοδρώμιον L

777 3 μήμησιν L

κόμβιον Β

773 26 EXWV L

32 μέσιν L

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τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολική ἐκκλησία, καὶ τελουμένης τής ἱερας λειτουργίας, συνεστιώνται τω βασιλεί οι πολλάκις έπι του κράματος μνημονευθέντες φίλοι. καὶ ὑποστρέφει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ παλάτιον ἐμπράτως, καὶ προτίθεται κλητώριον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ ἀποκοπτῆς τραπέζης ἐν τῷ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τρικλίνω, και δεί ήμας εὐτρεπίζειν είς συνεστίασιν τω βασιλεί φίλους ἀπὸ 5 της τάξεως των μαγίστρων, ανθυπάτων, πατρικίων, δφφικιαλίων, πρωτοσπαθαρίων καὶ λοιπών συγκλητικών τών ύπὸ καμπάγιν όντων κατὰ τὸ 780 ποσου της τραπέζης εἰσάγειν δε αὐτούς καὶ εξάγειν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων άλλαξιμάτων χωρίς των χλανιδίων διά τὸ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου διβητισίου προκαθεσθήναι. τη δε ιε του αυτου μηνος ήμερα τελειται 10 δημοσία προέλευσις της κοιμήσεως της ύπεραγίας δεσποίνης ήμων Θεοτόκου ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ ναῷ αὐτῆς τῷ ἐν Βλαχέρναις, καὶ τελουμένης τῆς ίερας λειτουργίας, προτίθεται κλητώριον έπὶ ἀποκοπτης τραπέζης ἐν τῷ κάτω τρικλίνω τω όντι ἐπὶ τὰ παλάτια της θαλάσσης, καὶ προκαθέζεται ό βασιλεύς σύν τῷ πατριάρχη μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου αὐτοῦ διβητησίου. καὶ 15 δεί ήμας εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς συνεστίασιν αὐτοῦ φίλους ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως των μαγίστρων, πραιποσίτων, ανθυπάτων, πατρικίων, δφφικιαλίων, μητροπολιτών καὶ λοιπών ἀρχόντων βασιλικών τε καὶ ταγματικών κατά τὸ ποσου της τραπέζης. εισάγουται δε και εξάγουται ούτως οι μεν μάγιστροι, πραιπόσιτοι, πατρίκιοι, όφφικιάλιοι καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ καμπάγιν πάντες 20 μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξημάτων οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ βασιλικοὶ μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων σκαραμαγγίων καὶ μόνον. ἐν δὲ τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα δείλης ἀπέρχεται ὁ βασιλεύς είς του ναου τοῦ ἀγίου Διομήδους, καὶ τῆ ἐπαύριου τελουμένης τῆς λειτουργίας, προτίθεται κλητώριον κατά τύπον, καὶ συνεσθίουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ όμοίως οἱ ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου πάντες. τῆ δὲ κθ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἡμέρα 25 έκτελείται ή μυήμη του άγίου και δρθοδόξου μεγάλου βασιλέως ήμων Βασιλείου, καὶ προέρχουται μετὰ σκαραμαγγίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων αποστόλων οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐμπράττως, καὶ τελουμένης τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, ύποστρέφουσιν όμοίως οἴκαδε μετὰ δόξης, καὶ προτίθεται κλητώριον ἐν τῷ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τρικλίνω, καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς συνεστίασιν τοῖς 30 βασιλεύσι φίλους ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῶν μαγίστρων, τῶν συγκλητικῶν βασιλικών ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξάγειν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων σκαραμαγγίων καὶ μόνον διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς βασιλείς εν τῷ τοιούτῳ σχήματι ἀκουμβίζειν. τῆ δε ἐπαύριον ἐκτελείται διὰ δεξίμου ή ἐν Χριστῷ αὐτοκρατορία τῶν πιστῶν βασιλέων, Λέοντος 35 καὶ 'Αλεξάνδρου, καὶ τελουμένου αἰσίως τοῦ δεξίμου, προκαθέζουται πάλιν οἱ εὐσεβεῖς δεσπόται εἰς πολλῶν ἀντίληψιν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ αὖθις 781 στοιχείται τὸ κλητώριον τοῦ δεσπότου, καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς συνεστίασιν των βασιλέων ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως των μαγίστρων, πραιποσίτων, ανθυπάτων, πατρικίων, οφφικιαλίων, πλην των εθνούχων, τους ημίσους 40 άπάντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῆς ὑπὸ καμπάγιν συγκλήτου, καὶ τῶν

780 10 διβητησίου B 22 δήλης L 32 an (καl) βασ.? 35 αὐτοκρατωρία L B

ταγματικών αλλαξιμάτων κατά τὸ ποσὸν τῆς τραπέζης, καὶ εἰσάγειν μετὰ των ολκείων αλλαξημάτων και χλανιδίων, τους δε λοιπους απαντας ταμιεύειν είς χόρευσιν της χαράς τοῦ δεσπότου. κύκλω γάρ χορεύοντες μετά χρυσων θωρακίων τους επαίνους πλέκουσι των εύσεβων δεσποτών, 5 καὶ δίδοται πάσιν φιλοτιμίας δώρον, χρυσοῦ λίτραι ις, καὶ διανέμεται πασι παρά τοῦ πρωτομαγίστρου καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἀρτοκλίνου κατὰ τύπον των καθ' ήμας κουδακίων. τη δε επιούση ήμερα τελείται επομένως ίππικου ίπποδρόμιου, καὶ προτίθεται τὸ κλητώριου ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικλίνου τῶυ καθισμάτων, καὶ συγκαλοῦνται εἰς συνεστίασιν τῷ βασιλεῖ φίλοι κατὰ 10 του έν τοις ιπποδρομικοις κλητωρίοις γραφέντα τύπου. τη δε ογδόη του Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς ἡμέρα τελείται προέλευσις των γενεθλίων της ύπεραγίας δεσποίνης ήμων Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, καὶ προέρχονται οί βασιλείς έμπράττως μετά πάσης της συγκλήτου έν τω ναω της άγίας Θεοτόκου των Χαλκοπρατίων, και τελουμένης της ιερας λειτουργίας, ύπο-15 στρέφει δ βασιλεύς έφιππος μετά χρυσοῦ σκαραμαγγίου έμπράττως, καὶ 782 προτίθεται κλητώριον επί αποκοπτής τραπέζης εν τω 'Ιουστινιανού τρικλίνω, καὶ συνεστιώνται τω βασιλεί οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου πάντες. εισάγονται δε μετά των οικείων σκαραμαγγίων και μόνον. τη δε τεσσαρισκαιδεκάτη του αὐτου μηνὸς τελεῖται ἡ υψωσις καὶ ἐμφάνια του τιμίου 20 καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ ἀνέρχονται οἱ βασιλεῖς ὄρθρου βαθέως ἐν τῷ ναω της άγίας Σοφίας, ποτε δε και από έσπέρας και τελουμένης της τρίτης ύψωσεως τοῦ παναγίου ξύλου, κατέρχονται πάλιν οἴκαδε διὰ των διαβατικών έν πρώτοις, καὶ τελουμένης παγανής προελεύσεως ένδον τοῦ παλατίου, προτίθεται κλητώριου έν τῷ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τρικλίνω, καὶ δεῖ 25 ήμας συγκαλέσασθαι είς συνεστίασιν των βασιλέων φίλους κατά τον ήδη τῶν κλητωρίων λεχθέντα τύπον εἰσάγειν δὲ πάντας μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων σκαραμαγγίων καὶ μόνον. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μηνὸς Νοεμβρίου τελοῦνται τὰ βρουμάλια των δεσποτων, καὶ τελουμένου ἐφ' ἐκάστου κλήσει τοῦ ἐσπερίου φωτοφανούς σαξίμου δίδονται ἀποκόμβια τάδε επὶ μεν τοῦ βρουμαλίου 30 Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου χρυσοῦ λίτραι κ΄· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ εὐτυχοῦς 'Αλεξάνδρου αὐγούστου χρυσοῦ λίτραι ι'· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς Ζώης αὐγούστης χρυσοῦ λίτραι η'· α καὶ διανέμονται ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου πρωτομαγίστρου καὶ τοῦ κλεινοῦ ἀρτικλίνου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κατὰ τὸν περιεχόμενον 783 τύπου τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς κουδακίου. αὖται οὖυ πᾶσαι αἱ τυπικαὶ περιοδικῶς 35 έρχόμεναι τῷ χρόνῳ κλήσεις είδικήν τινα είσάγουσιν, ώς ἔφαμεν, τῶν κλητωρίων τάξιν. διὸ καὶ ταύτας εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τελουμένων έμφανως προθέμενοι ἀπταίστω λόγω αἴτησιν προσάγομεν προσέχειν ταύταις είς ήμων συντήρησιν καὶ κλέους δόξαν.

781 3 χώρευσιν L: χωρεύοντες L 5 χροισοῦ χ̃ (sc. χρυσοῦ) L 7 κωνδ. L Β 782 19 -κεδεκάτη L 20 βαθέως LB 33 κλινοῦ L 783 38 συντήρησιν κλέους και δόξαν coni. R: fortasse και τοῦ βασιλέως δόξαν

Περί διανομών τών εὐσεβιών τοῦ βασιλέως ἔν τε τοῖς βρουμαλίοις καὶ στεψίμοις καὶ αὐτοκρατορίαις.

'Επειδή τινες των εν άξιωμασι διαπρεπόντων, ληχνοτέραν την έφεσιν των χρημάτων έχουτες, αμφισβητήσεις καὶ λόγους εγείρουσι περὶ τῆς διανομῆς τῶν διδομένων χρημάτων καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχαίων τῶν χρόνων παρακολουθή- 5 σασαν συνήθειαν ανατρέπειν σπουδάζουσι φέρε δη καθώς έκ των πρό ήμων έγγράφως παρελάβομεν τύπον, καὶ ὑμῖν παραδώσωμεν. πᾶν γὰρ τὸ άργαιότητι διαφέρου αιδέσιμου, οὖτε προσθήκην τῶν πάλαι διανομῶν καινουργείν σπεύδοντες, ούτε ελάττωσιν των προπραχθέντων ποιούμενοι. γὰρ τὸν διανομέα τῶν τοιούτων ἀρτικλίνην πρό γε πάντων τὸ ποσὸν τῆς 10 δωρεας έκμανθάνειν, καὶ είθ' ούτως ακριβολογείν τὰς των αξιωμάτων δια-784 φοράς, καὶ ἐκάστη ἀξιωμάτων τάξει συγκαταριθμεῖν τοὺς αὐτῆς μετόχους, καν ελάττονες των αξιωμάτων τυγχάνουσι και τοις μεν μαγίστροις συγκαταλέγειν τόν τε βαίκτορα καὶ τὴν ζωστὴν πατρικίαν, τὸν σύγκελλον καὶ τους ἀπὸ μαγίστρων μοναδικούς καὶ τὸν πραιπόσιτον, ἄμα δὲ καὶ τῷ οἰκειακῷ 15 παρακοιμωμένω τοῦ μεγάλου ἡμῶν βασιλέως εἰς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀνθυπάτων τάξιν συναριθμείν τους εύνούχους πατρικίους έν δε τῆ τάξει τῶν λοιπῶν πατρικίων συγκατατάττειν τους έν τῷ βήλῳ τῶν πατρικίων τεταγμένους όφφικιαλίους, ήγουν τοὺς πρωτοσπαθαρίους καὶ στρατηγούς, τοὺς πρωτοσπαθαρίους καὶ πραιποσίτους, τὸν δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν, τὸν ἐξσκούβιτον, 20 τὸυ ὅπαρχου, τὸυ γευικόυ, τὸυ σακελλάριου, τὸυ κυέστωρα, τὸυ δρουγγάριου της βίγλης, τὸν πρωτοβεστιάριον τοῦ δεσπότου, τὸν της τραπέζης, καί, εἰ τύχοιεν, παπίας μέγας καὶ έταιρειάρχης πρωτοσπαθάριος εὐνοῦχος έν δὲ τη τάξει των σεκρετικών όφφικιαλίων συγκαταριθμείν τους εύνούχους πρωτοσπαθαρίους (καί) πριμικηρίους καὶ όστιαρίους καὶ τοὺς ἐμπράτους κριτὰς 25 έκ δὲ τῆς τάξεως τῶν πρωτοσπαθαρίων δεῖ διαστέλλειν τοὺς τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ μαγλαβίτας καὶ ἀρτικλίνας, ἤγουν μικρὸν πλέον προτιμάσθαι. τοὺς δὲ σπαθαροκανδιδάτους . . . συναριθμεῖν τοῖς σπαθαροκουβικουλαρίοις (τους δε κουβικουλαρίους) μετά των σπαθαρίων καί στρατώρων καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς κανδιδάτους (καὶ) μανδάτωρας συγκατα- 30 785 λέγειν, δηλονότι των σεκρετικών νοταρίων ύπεξαιρουμένων έκ πάντων των τοῦ λαυσιακοῦ ἀρχόντων. καὶ ἡνίκα ἐκάστη ἁρμοζόντως τάξει τοὺς συμμετόχους έξαριθμήση, κατά τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ δώρου τῆς εὐεργεσίας ποιείσθαι τὸν συλλογισμόν, ὡς λεχθήσεται. ἡνίκα γὰρ ὁ μάγιστρος ἄτομον τυχὸν λάβη μύραν, οίονεὶ,, κ΄, ὀφείλει λαμβάνειν ὁ ἀνθύπατος τὸ ήμισυ τούτου, 35 νομίσματα ί. ὁ δὲ πατρίκιος ὀφείλει ὑποπίπτειν τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ ,, α΄, καὶ λαμβάνειν νομίσμ. θ', ὁ δὲ ὀφφικιάλιος τὸ δίμοιρον τοῦ πατρικίου νομίσμ. 5', οἱ δὲ πρωτοσπαθάριοι λιτοὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ πατρικίου νομίσμ. δ'ι. προτι-

<sup>784 14</sup> σύγκελον L 6 ἀνατρέπιν L 8 διαφέρων L 4 αμφισβητήσις L 25 (καl) addidi 27 ήγουν erui: lacunam exhibet B 28 duo 21 κυέστορα Β 30 στραseu tres litt. oblitt.: fort. καί 29 (τους δέ κουβικουλαρίους) addidi 785 32 άρμοζώντως τόρων Β (καί) addidi μανδάτορας Β 31 ύφεξ. L 37 δ δε (πρωτοσπαθάριος και) όφφ. conicio δημοίρω L 38 δ' B sed L 35 olovi L  $\Delta \iota \left(4\frac{1}{2}\right)$  recte habet προτιμόνται L

μώνται δε οί τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ οί τοῦ μαγλαβίου πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ οί ἀρτικλίνοι ὑπὲρ τοὺς λιτοὺς πρωτοσπαθαρίους νομίσμ. γ', οἱ δὲ σπαθαροκουβικουλάριοι καὶ σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι τὸ δίμοιρον τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου ., γ'. οι δε κουβικουλάριοι και σπαθάριοι και στράτωρες λαμβάνουσι τὸ 5 ήμισυ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου ,, βδ' οἱ δὲ κανδιδάτοι μαγλαβίται ἀνὰ ,, 5'. οί δὲ σεκρετικοὶ χαρτουλάριοι καὶ νοτάριοι ὑποπίπτουσι τοῖς τοῦ λαυσιακοῦ ἄρχουσιν, ἔκαστος κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἀξίωμα, τρίτον. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τοῦ βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου ὑποπίπτουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας ἀξίας ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλικών τοῦ λαυσιακοῦ κατὰ τὸ δίμοιρον μέρος τοῦ πρωτοτύπου, οἶον οἱ το πρωτοσπαθάριοι ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκειακῶν λιτῶν πρωτοσπαθαρίων, τὸ δίμοιρον ,, γ΄, καὶ οἱ σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι τῶν τριῶν τὸ δίμοιρον ,, β', καὶ οἱ σπαθάριοι καὶ 786 στράτωρες των δύο τὸ δίμοιρον αγ, οἱ δὲ κανδιδάτοι ζγ, φολ. κ, οἱ δὲ λιτοὶ καὶ έβδομάριοι ἀπὸ (5', οἱ δὲ ὑπουργοὶ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς αὐγούστης ἀπὸ ζίν πάντες. οἱ δὲ διὰ πόλεως πρωτοσπαθάριοι ἀπὸ νομίσμ. 15 α΄, οἱ δὲ σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι ἀπὸ ζς΄ [οἱ δὲ σπαθάριοι στράτωρες λαμβάνουσι τὸ ήμισυ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου,, βδ΄, οἱ δὲ κανδιδάτοι μαγλαβίται ἀνὰ,, 5', οί δὲ σεκρετικοί χαρτουλάριοι καὶ νοτάριοι ύποπίπτουσι τοῖς τοῦ λαυσιακοῦ ἄρχουσιν, ἔκαστος κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἀξίωμα ,, γ. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τοῦ βασιλικού βεστιαρίου ύποπίπτουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας ἀξίας ἀπὸ 20 των βασιλικών τοῦ λαυσιακοῦ κατὰ τὸ δίμοιρον μέρος τοῦ πρωτοτύπου], οἱ δὲ σπαθάριοι, στράτωρες, ὕπατοι ἀπὸ ζ(), οἱ δὲ κανδιδάτοι βεστήτορες ἀπὸ γ΄. δίδοται δὲ καὶ ἔξω τούτου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ποσότητος τῷ μὲν πρωτοβεστιαρίω (τοῦ δε)σπότου κατὰ τὴν ποσότητα τῶν λιτρῶν τῆ λίτρη,, α', τῷ δὲ τῆς καταστάσεως ,, κ΄ καὶ τῷ ὀστιαρίῳ ,, κ΄, τῷ μέρει Βενέτων (,, δ΄ καὶ τῷ) μέρει Πρα-25 σίνων ,, δ', τῷ ὀρχιστῆ ,, β', τοῖς θυρ(ωροῖς ,, γ', τοῖς) διατρέχουσι ,, γ', τοῖς μανδάτορσι τοῦ λογοθέτου,, γ', (τοις....) φύλαξι,, γ', καὶ τῷ ἀρτικλίνη τῶ διανέμοντι . . . . ιβ'. . . . . . μεν ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν βρουμαλίων δωρεῶν διανομής εν δε τοις στεψίμοις των βασιλέων και ταις αυτοκρατορίαις υπεξ- 787 αιρούνται πάντες οι των σεκρέτων χαρτουλάριοι και νοτάριοι και τα βεστία 30 καὶ ὑπουργίαι καὶ οἱ διὰ πόλεως πάντες. καὶ γίνεται ἡ διανομὴ εἰς μόνους τους άρχοντας τοῦ λαυσιακοῦ, οἶον εἰς μαγίστρους, πραιποσίτους, ἀνθυπάτους, πατρικίους, πρωτοσπαθαρίους (σύν τοις εύνούχοις πρωτοσπαθαρίοις καὶ μόνου) σπαθαροκανδιδάτοις, σπαθαρίοις, καὶ στράτωρες καὶ κανδιδάτοις, καὶ εἰς τοὺς λεχθέντας εξώβρεμα τῶν ἀποκομβίων. οί γὰρ τοῦ κου-35 βουκλείου πάντες ίδιαζόντως τὰ ἀποκόμβια λαμβάνουσιν.

5 βδ' i.e. 2 nom. et 3 miliaresia 3 δήμοιρον L et passim 4 στράτορες Β 786 12  $(\gamma' B: \zeta \nu L)$  14 fort.  $(\delta)$  15 οἱ δὲ ... 20 πρωτοτύπου (=4-9 supra) uncis inclusi 15 et 21 στράτορες B 21 fort.  $(\delta')$  cum  $\gamma'$  sc.  $\zeta$  23 .... σπότου lego, om. B ,, om. B 24 ,,  $\delta'$  (post  $B\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega\nu$ ) in cod. oblitt. recte restituit B; quod cum lacunam vix impleat καὶ inserui. 25 τοῖς θυρ(ωροῖς γ', τοῖς) ita restitui ex vestigiis in loco oblitterato : ὀρχιστ $\hat{\eta}$  . . . διατρέχουσιν B 26 τοῦ λογό ,,  $\gamma$  lego : τοῦ λογοθέτου B τοῖς νομοφύλαξι B, non verisimile : fort. τοῖς ἀρμοφύλαξι, cf. Cer. 8οτ 27 διανέμοντι τὸ ἀποκόμβιον. καὶ ταῦτα μέν Β: διανέμοντι . . . ιβ' α . . . . μέν lego 33 στράτορσι legendum 34 έξωβρεματών Β 787 28 ύφεξ. L

м 12

Περί συνηθείας των άρτικλινων.

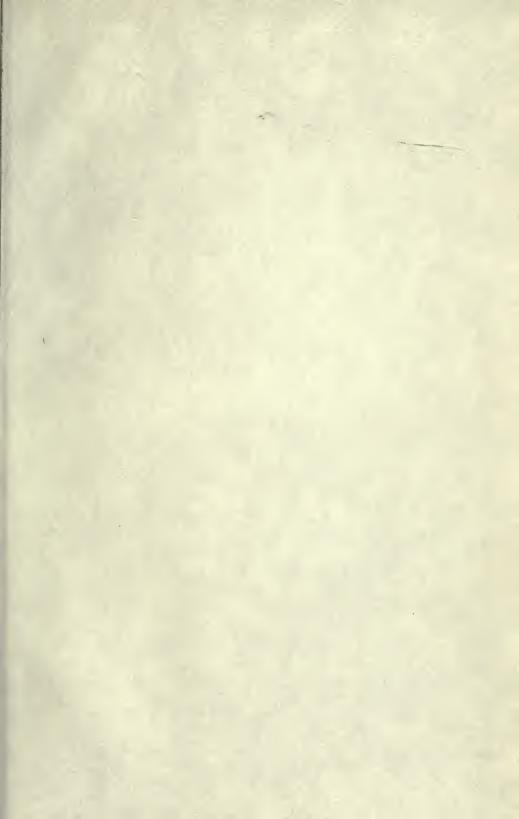
Επεί δε τας δια των βραβείων και δια λόγων προσγινομένων αξιών διαιρέσεις καὶ ὑποδιαιρέσεις, αὕξεις τε καὶ μειώσεις, προσκλήσεις τε καὶ ύποκλήσεις, είς τουμφανες εποιήσαμεν, φέρε δη και τας έκπαλαι τους άρτικλίνας παρά των βασιλέων έκτυπωθείσας συνηθείας, καὶ έκ τίνων προσώ- 5 πων ταύτας διδόναι αὐτοῖς ήφορίσθη, ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων ἐρανισάμενοι τήδε τή γραφή παραδοίημεν. προβαλλομένης γὰρ ζωστής ή μαγίστρου, δίδοται αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν καθάπαξ ,, κδ΄. τιμωμένου δὲ συγκέλλου, δίδοται αὐτοῖς συνήθεια παρ' αὐτοῦ καθάπαξ,, ιβ'. ἀναγομένου δὲ εὐνούχου 788 η βαρβάτου είς πατρικιότητα, η ανθυπάτου γενομένου τινός, δίδοται αὐτοῖς 10 έξ ξκάστου αὐτῶν ,, ιβ' δμοίως καὶ ἐκ τῆς διανομῆς τοῦ κομβίου τοῦ διδομένου παρά τοῦ τιμωμένου πατρικίου λαμβάνουσιν νομίσμ. ιβ'. οἱ δὲ χειροτονούμενοι στρατηγοί έν τε τη ανατολή και τη δύσει παρέχουσιν αὐτοις ανα νομισμ. ιβ'. εί δε και επιμένωσι στρατηγοί, δσάκις αν ρογευθώσιν, οί μεν ανατολικοί ανα νομισμ. ιβ', καν τάχα τύχοιεν είς τὸ ἴδιον θέμα, 15 την ρόγαν αὐτῶν ἀποσταληναι. οἱ δὲ της δύσεως καὶ μη ρογευόμενοι, δσάκις αν εν τη βασιλευούση των πόλεων επανέλθωσι, παρέχουσιν αὐτοις ανα νομισμ. ιβ'. προβαλλομένου δε εκ προσώπου στρατηγοῦ ή κλεισουράρχου ή κατεπάνω Παφλαγωνίας, δίδοται αὐτοῖς έξ εκάστου αὐτῶν ἀνὰ νομισμ. η', καὶ δσάκις εἰσελθόντες ρογευθώσι, πάλιν την αὐτην ποσότητα 20 παρέχουσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ὀφφικιάλιοι, κἄν τε τῆ τῶν πρωτοσπαθαρίων τετίμηνται άξία, κάν τε καὶ μή, ἀπό τε τοῦ πραιποσίτου καὶ τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου τῶν βασιλικῶν, δίδουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄπαξ ἀνὰ ,, ιβ' οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ὀφφικιάλιοι μέχρι τοῦ δομεστικου τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀνὰ ,, η'. εἰ δέ τις εὐνοῦχος πρωτοσπαθάριος γένηται, δί- 25 δωσιν αὐτοῖς ἄπαξ,, η' πριμικήριος η οστιάριος ἀνὰ,, 5' ωσαύτως ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ ἀρμαμέντου, ὁ μινσουράτωρ, ὁ κουράτωρ τοῦ κτήματος, οἱ χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ ὀξέου δρόμου, ὁ ἀκτουάριος, ὁ πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ δρόμου, ὁ χαρτου-789 λάριος τοῦ σταύλου, ὁ ἐπίκτης καὶ ὁ τῆς ὑπουργίας δομέστικος, ὁ ζυγοστάτης, δ οἰκιστικὸς καὶ δ χρυσοεψητής. ἐπὶ προβολή δὲ παυτὸς πρωτο- 30 σπαθαρίου ἀπό τε μαγλαβιτών καὶ τών ἐν τῷ οἰκειακῷ βασιλικῷ βεστιαρίω καταλεγομένων, καὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἀνθρώπους συντεταγμένων, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης παρισταμένων, καὶ τῶν διὰ πόλεως σὺν τῶν ἐξωτικῶν τιμωμένων, δίδοται αὐτοῖς ἄπαξ ἀνὰ νομισμ. η΄, οἱ δὲ τῆ τῶν σπαθαροκανδιδάτων ἡ σπαθαρίων τιμώμενοι ἀξία ἀνὰ ,, 5', οἱ δὲ τῆ 35 των στρατώρων η ύπάτων, η κανδιδάτων η μανδατόρων, η βεστητόρων, η σιλευτιαρίων, η ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τιμώμενοι ἀξία, παρέχουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ νομισμ. (δ') ώσαύτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεκρετικῶν ἦγουν συγκλητικοῦ τιμωμένου αὐτοῦ έν αξιώμασιν, δίδοται έξ έκάστου αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον αξίωμα, οἱ μὲν

<sup>4</sup> τοῖς ἀρτικλίναις legendum videtur 5 τινῶν L 8 συγκέλου L 788 ιτ διδωμένου L 14 ὡσάκις L ἡωγευθῶσιν L 17 βασιλευούσι L 23 δίδοσι L 25 δίδοσιν L 789 30 χρυσεψιτής L: correxi 38 numerum scriba non legere potuit,  $\langle \delta' \rangle$  supplevi; cf. infra

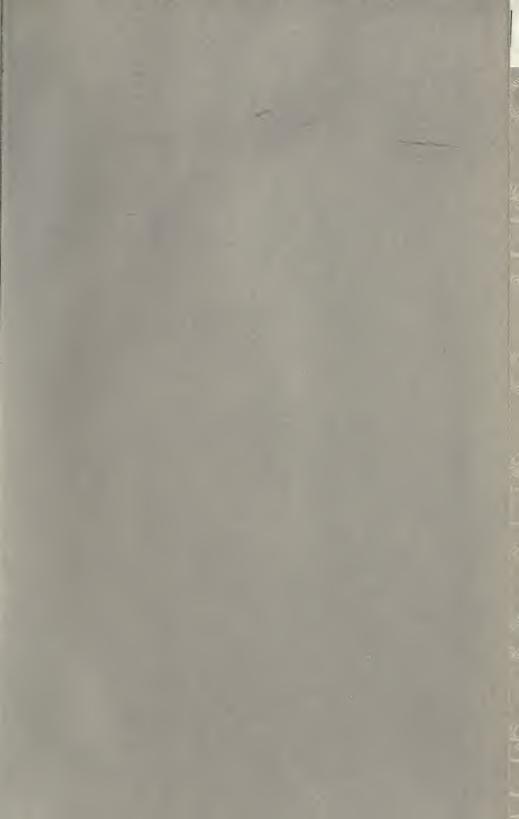
τῆ τῶν πρωτοσπαθαρίων ἀνὰ ,, η', οἱ δὲ τῆ τῶν σπαθαροκανδιδάτων ἡ σπαθαρίων ανα ,, 5', οἱ δὲ τῆ τῶν στρατώρων ἢ ὑπάτων ἢ κανδιδάτων ἢ μανδατόρων η βεστητόρων η σιλεντιαρίων άνα νομισμ. δ΄, απράτων δε σεκρετικών γενομένων, ανα ,, γ', οί δε των ταγμάτων και των πλοίμων και των 5 νουμέρων καὶ τειχέων τοποτηρηταὶ άμα τοῖς χαρτουλαρίοις αὐτῶν ἀνὰ,, 5. οί δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἄρχοντες ἄμα τοῖς τριβούνοις καὶ βικαρίοις ἀνὰ νομίσματος ένός. τούτων τοίνυν ανέκαθεν πλατικώτερον είσενηνεγμένων, νυνί δε ως οδόν τε ήν σαφως καλ εύσυνόπτως εν επιτόμω συνειλεγμένων, χρη 790 τοις, όσοι την περί τούτων φροντίδα και ύπηρεσίαν πεποίηνται κατά την 10 προκειμένην διδασκαλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν κλητωρίων, καὶ περὶ τῶν διανομών, έκ τοῦδε τοῦ τακτικοῦ παραγγέλματος ώς ἀπὸ κανόνος, ή, τό γε άληθέστερου, ώς έκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ θεσπίσματος, αναμφισβήτως ένεργείν. έδει μεν ήμας τοις συνταχθείσιν περί καθεδρών λόγοις και τήνδε την τών ίερατικών επισυνάψαι τάξιν, ώς άτε μάλλον τὰ πρέσβεια της πρωτοκλησίας 15 φέρουσαν, άλλ' ίνα μή τις κόρος λόγου τοις αναγινώσκουσιν περιστή, καὶ ἡ συγκλητικὴ τάξις σὺν τῆ ἱερατικῆ συναφθεῖσα ἀσάφειαν τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις δια των ονομάτων ποιήση, ταύτην τυπικώς μεν ήδη από της τάξεως των μαγίστρων, πατρικίων, πραιποσίτων καὶ στρατηγών προεσημάναμεν. υυνὶ δὲ τῆς περὶ τούτων κυριοκλησίας καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας τῶν τε ἐπαρχιῶν 20 καὶ μητροπολιτών, ἀρχιεπισκόπων αὐτοκεφάλων καὶ ἐπισκόπων ὑποτεταγμένων την άρμόζουσαν τάξιν είδικως έμφανησαι βουλόμενοι, είδικήν τινα καὶ τὴν πραγματείαν συγγράψαι προεθυμήθημεν. τὰ γὰρ εἰδικῶς ὅντως λεγόμενα σαφή την διδασκαλίαν παρέχει τὰ δέ πως ἐν συζυγίαις πεπλεγμένα ασάφειαν πολλάκις τοις εντυγχάνουσι προξενεί. διο καθ' είρμον 25 έκάστης έπαρχίας τὰς μητροπόλεις έκθέμενοι, τῷ έκάστῳ μητροπολίτη 791 άρμόζοντι τόπω της καθέδρας διεστιχήσαμεν, καὶ είθ' ούτως τὰς τῶν αὐτοκεφάλων άρχιεπισκόπων κατά τάξιν δευτέραν οὖσαν ἀπὸ τῶν μητροπολιτῶν εξεθέμεθα, μετά δε τούτοις τη εκάστη επαρχία και μητροπόλει υποτεταγμένας πόλεις καὶ ἐπισκοπὰς ἐδηλώσαμεν, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς κλητορο-30 λογίων μόνον τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκλαβόμενοι, ἀλλά γε καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεσπεσίου Έπιφανίου τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου συγγραφής τὰ πλεῖστα ἀναλεξάμενοι, ζυ' ύμεις εν τή τοιαύτη διακονία των άρτοκλινων τυγχάνοντες τεταγμένοι, μη δε εν τούτω τω μέρει τι διαμάρτητε, άλλα και εν φωσάτοις μη παρόντος τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου, τύχη καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ, τὴν πεῖραν 35 τῶν καθεδρῶν διὰ τοῦ συγγράμματος ἔχοντα ἄπταιστα καὶ ἀμώμητα τὰ τίμια κλητώρια των βασιλέων ήμων των άγίων εἰσάγητε.

6 νομήσματος L 790 13 συνταχθήσιν L 15 φερούσης L: corr. R 16 συγκλιτική L είσαγωμένοις L 17 ποιήσει LB: correxi τοπηκὸς μὲν είδη L: corr. R από L: έπὶ B 23 σαφεῖ L πῶς LB: correxi 24 διὰ καθηρμὸν LB: correxi 791 26 ἁρμόζωντι L διεστηχήσαμεν L 29 κλητωρολ. B 32 ἡν ὑμεῖς L: corr. R ἀρτοκλίνων L 35 ἄπτεστα L 36 εἰσάγεται L: εἰσάγετε B: εἰσάγητε scripsi

7.









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